

The Palimpsest Psalter, Pantokrator Cod. 61: Its Content and Relationship to the Bristol Psalter

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Two aspects of the ninth-century Pantokrator Psalter (Mt. Athos Pantokrator monastery, cod. 61) occasion this study. The first is the manuscript's content. My goal is to inventory the rubrics, palimpsested psalm verses, added leaves, and miniatures; in addition, the marginal scholia need to be identified. Along with describing what the Psalter contains, I also note what it lacks, entire leaves as well as those parts of leaves from which miniatures were presumably, sometimes demonstrably, cut. The second aspect of the Psalter that needs to be investigated is the relationship between its miniature cycle and that of the eleventh-century Bristol Psalter (Lond. Add. 40,731). To this question I devote the second part of the essay. The illuminations, which make the Pantokrator Psalter important, first became known through the work of Porfirij Uspenskij (1804–85). Uspenskij examined the manuscript on Mt. Athos and in 1880 published a description of the miniature cycle supplemented by thirteen line drawings.¹ A decade and a half later, Johan J. Tikkanen (1857–1930) wrote on the Psalter, but based his remarks on photographs he studied in Moscow; Tikkanen had no direct knowledge of the manuscript.² Tikkanen also knew and discussed four detached leaves in St. Petersburg, although it was Josef Strzygowski who recognized the leaves as cuttings that Bishop Uspenskij had taken from the Pantokrator manuscript.³ As early as 1914, Gabriel Millet conceived of a plan for the Psalter's complete publication in a series to be undertaken by scholars in Paris and Princeton, but the project was never carried to completion.⁴ In 1966 S. Dufrenne published the Pantokrator Psalter in a volume that also included the Paris Fragment (Paris. gr. 20) and the eleventh-century Bristol Psalter.⁵ On two later occasions, all or nearly all

¹P. Uspenskij, *Pervoje putesestvie Afonskie monastyri i skity*, II. 2 (Moscow, 1880), 134–52, with drawings of the miniatures on fols. 16, 55v, 63, 83, 87, 93v, 109, 110, 118v, 121, 130v, 151, 153.

²J. Tikkanen, *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter* (Helsingfors, 1895, 1897, 1900); repr. in *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae* 31 (1903), and again as a monograph (Soest, 1975), 11–12.

³Ibid., 88. J. Strzygowski, review of Tikkanen's *Psalterillustrationen im Mittelalter* published in *BZ* 6 (1897), 423–25, with photographic reproductions of two of the three miniatures: St. Petersburg, fols. 2, 4v.

⁴L. Mariès, “Le psautier à illustration marginale. Signification théologique des images,” *Actes du VI^e Congrès international d'études byzantines*, II (Paris, 1951), 261–62, announcing the progress of the project that was to begin with the three ninth-century manuscripts, the Chludov Psalter in addition to the Paris Fragment. A. Grabar's introduction to S. Dufrenne, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs du Moyen age: Pantocrator 61, Paris grec 20, British Museum 40.731*, *Bibliothèque des Cahiers archéologiques* 1 (Paris, 1966) (henceforth, *Psautiers grecs*), 7–8, adds some further information on the project. Only the Theodore Psalter ever appeared in an edition with commentary by a member of Millet's original team: S. Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs du Moyen age*, II, *Londres, Add. 19.352*, *Bibliothèque des Cahiers archéologiques* 5 (Paris, 1970).

⁵Dufrenne, *Psautiers grecs*.

of the Pantokrator miniatures were again reproduced. In 1969, forty-three leaves with miniatures were published in black-and-white and color by P. Huber,⁶ and in 1979 a nearly complete selection of color reproductions appeared in the series *Treasures of Mount Athos*.⁷ The St. Petersburg cuttings have been illustrated by Tikkanen, Strzygowski, Millet, and Dufrenne.⁸ An accurate description of the content of the Psalter cannot be found in any of the various publications concerned with its history and decoration.⁹ As subsequent analysis of the evidence will show, our knowledge of the history of the Byzantine Psalter has been hampered by the lack of accurate information.

The inventory of content follows the Psalter text and not the folio sequence, which has been disturbed at the start of the manuscript.¹⁰ Verses are numbered according to the printed edition of A. Rahlf, *Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpres* (Stuttgart, 1935); the designations “a” and “b” refer only to parts of verses split between sides or sheets. An asterisk under the heading “Original Rubric” means that the side in question preserves a number or title in the hand of the original scribe(s). In citing the St. Petersburg cuttings (Ps. 37 f, Ps. 76, Ps. 108 f) I follow Dufrenne’s designation by folio, given to the leaves in the order of content; this numbering has no authority from markings on the leaves themselves (or, at least, no authority I can verify). The miniature numbers follow the designations written in the manuscript.

CONTENT OF THE PSALTER

Mt. Athos, Pantokrator monastery library, cod. 61 (Rahlf no. 1032); four detached leaves in St. Petersburg, Gosudarstvennaja Publičnaja Biblioteka im. M.E. Saltykova-Ščedrina (M. E. Saltykov-Ščedrin State Public Library), cod. 265 (individually cited here as fols. 1–4):¹¹

⁶P. Huber, *Athos: Leben, Glaube, Kunst* (Zurich, 1969), 148–66, figs. 40–82, reproducing, sometimes the entire leaves, fols. 10v, 16, 23, 25v, 29, 30v, 36v, 37, 39v, 48, 55v, 61, 63, 65v, 68v, 72v, 83, 83v, 85, 89, 93v, 98v, 103v, 104, 105, 107, 110, 115v, 118, 121, 122, 138, 140, 144, 151v, 165, 182, 196, 206, 216v, 217v, 222.

⁷S. Pelekanides et al., *Hoi Thesauroi tou Hagiou Oros*, III (Athens, 1979), 267–80, figs. 180–237, reproducing, entirely in color and in closely framed photographs, fols. 10, 16, 18v, 24v, 26v, 29, 30v, 36v, 37, 38, 39v, 42v, 46v, 48, 55v, 63, 64, 65v, 68v, 69, 70, 76v, 85, 85v, 87, 89, 93v, 98, 98v, 102, 102v, 103v, 104, 105, 107, 107v, 109, 109v, 110, 114, 114v, 115v, 118, 121, 122, 137, 138, 151v, 153v, 165, 182, 184v, 196, 206, 212, 216v, 217v, 222.

⁸Tikkanen, *Psalterillustration*, fig. 86, a line drawing of fol. 4v; Strzygowski, *op. cit.*, figs. 1, 2; G. Millet, *Recherches sur l’iconographie de l’évangile aux XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e siècles* (Paris, 1916), fig. 126 (fol. 3); Dufrenne, *Psautiers grecs*, pls. 7, 13, 25.

⁹The single attempt at an account is that of S. Dufrenne, who saw the Psalter in Athens, where it had been sent for the Byzantine Art exhibition of 1964 (*Byzantine Art, An European Art* [Athens, 1964], 296–97); Dufrenne, *Psautiers grecs*, 15–16. Though lengthy, her description contains inaccuracies that affect discussion; this has been tacitly signaled by K. Corrigan, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters* (Cambridge, 1992) (henceforth, *Visual Polemics*), 144–45, who offers a description that adds another lacuna in the manuscript to Dufrenne’s account.

¹⁰The description is based on a microfilm made at Athos and dated 26 July 1970, as well as on some supplementary prints made from a second Athos microfilm. The film does not permit reliable identification of the flesh and hair sides of the parchment, but the text is plainly visible, as are erasures made by scraping and the edges of the leaves that have been trimmed. I wish to thank Prof. Corrigan for having lent me the materials on which the inventory was made, as well as for her remarks on a draft of this study.

¹¹S. Lampros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, I (Cambridge, Mass., 1895), 99; E. Grans-trem, “Katalog grečeskih rukopisej Leningradskikh khranilišč, I, Rukopisi IV-IV vekov,” *VizVrem* 16 (1959), 236. A. Rahlf, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments* (Gottingen, 1914), 22, 229.

| Psalm | folio | original rubric | min. no. | damage see | Psalm | folio | original rubric | min. no. | damage see |
|----------------|-------|--------------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------|-------------|---------------|
| Beginning Lost | | | | | 27:3b-7a | 19 | | | |
| 8:4-8:8 | 21 | | | eik. 7 fig. a | 27:7b-28:1a | v | | * | |
| 8:[9]-9:4a | v | * | | | 28:1b-5 | 20 | | | fig. e |
| 9:4b-9a | 22 | | | | 28:6-11 | v | | | |
| 9:9b-14 | v | * | | | 29:1-6 | 29 | * | | eik. 11 |
| 9:15-19a | 23 | | | eik. 8 | 29:7-11 | v | | | |
| 9:19b-24a | v | | | | 29:12-30:4a | 30 | | * | |
| 9:24b-29a | 24 | | | | 30:4b-9a | v | | | eik. 12 |
| 9:29b-34a | v | | | eik. 9 | 30:9b-13 | 31 | | | |
| 9:34b-38a | 25 | | | | 30:14-18a | v | | | |
| 9:38b-10:3 | v | * | | | 30:18b-21 | 32 | | | |
| 10:4-7 | 26 | | | | 30:22-31:1a | v | | * | |
| 11:1-6a | v | * | | eik. 10 | 31:1b-5a | 33 | | * | |
| 11:6b-12:2 | 27 | * | | | 31:5b-9a | v | | | |
| 12:3-6a | v | | | | 31:9b-32:1 | 34 | | * | |
| 12:6b-13:4a | 28 | * | | | 32:2-8a | v | | | |
| 13:4b-14:1 | v | * | | | 32:8b-13 | 35 | | | |
| Lacuna | | | | | 32:14-18a | v | | | |
| 16:3b-8a | 2 | | | | 32:18b-33:1 | 36 | * | | eik. 13 |
| 16:8b-13a | v | | | | 33:2-6 | v | * | | eik. 14 |
| 16:13b-15a | 3 | * | | | 33:7-12 | 37 | | | eik. 15 |
| 16:15b-17:6a | v | * | | eik. 1 | 33:13-19a | v | | | |
| 17:6b-10a | 4 | | | | 33:19b-23a | 38 | | | eik. 16 |
| 17:10b-15a | v | | | | 33:23b-34:4a | v | | * | |
| 17:15b-21a | 5 | | | | 34:4b-8a | 39 | | | |
| 17:21b-26 | v | | | | 34:8b-13a | v | | | eik. 17 |
| Lacuna | | | | | 34:13b-17a | 40 | | | |
| 19:4-9a | 9 | | | | 34:17b-22 | v | | | |
| 19:9b-20:4a | v | * | | | 34:23-26 | 41 | | | |
| Lacuna | | | | | 34:27-35:3a | v | | * | |
| 20:14b-21:6 | 10 | * | | eik. 2 | 35:3b-8a | 42 | | | eik. 18 |
| 21:7-13 | v | | | | 35:8b-13 | v | | | eik. 19 |
| 21:14-17a | 11 | | | | 36:1-5 | 43 | | * | |
| 21:17b-23a | v | | | eik. 3 | 36:6-10 | v | | | |
| 21:23b-27a | 12 | | | | 36:11-16 | 44 | | | |
| 21:27b-31 | v | | | | 36:17-21 | v | | | |
| Lacuna | | | | | 36:22-27a | 45 | | | |
| 23:1-6a | 13 | * | | | 36:27b-31 | v | | | |
| 23:6b-10 | v | | | | 36:32-36 | 46 | | | |
| 24:1-6a | 14 | * | | eik. 4 | 36:37-40 | v | | | eik. 20 |
| 24:6b-12a | v | | | | 37:1-6 | 47 | | * | |
| 24:12b-18 | 15 | | | | 37:7-11 | v | | | |
| 24:19-25:1 | v | * | | | 37:12-22 | St. Petersburg, cod. 265, fol. 1 | | | |
| 25:2-7a | 16 | | | eik. 5 | 37:22-38:9 | St. Petersburg, cod. 265, fol. 2 | | | |
| 25:7b-12 | v | | | | 38:9-13a | 48 | | * | miniature |
| 26:1-4a | 17 | * | | | 38:13b-39:4a | v | | * | eik. 21 |
| 26:4b-8a | v | | | | | | | | |
| 26:8b-13a | 18 | | | | | | | | |
| 26:13b-27:3a | v | * | | eik. 6 | | | | | |

| Psalm | folio | original rubric | min. no. | damage see | Psalm | folio | original rubric | min. no. | damage see |
|--|-------|--------------------|-------------|----------------|--------------|-------|--------------------|-------------|---------------|
| 39:4b-8a | 49 | | | | 56:5b-9a | v | | | |
| 39:8b-12a | v | | | | 56:9b-57:3 | 71 | | * | |
| 39:12b-16 | 50 | | | | 57:4-8a | v | | | |
| 39:17-18 | v | | | | 57:8b-12 | 72 | | | fig. g |
| Lacuna | | | | | 58:1-6a | v | * | | eik. 31 |
| 41:6b-10a | 51 | | | | 58:6b-11a | 73 | | | |
| 41:10b-12 | v | | | | 58:11b-14 | v | | | |
| 42:1-4a | 52 | * | | | Lacuna | | | | |
| 42:4b-43:3a | v | * | | | 59:7b-12 | 74 | | | |
| 43:3b-6 | 53 | | | | 59:13-60:4a | v | | * | |
| 43:7-11 | v | | | | 60:4b-8 | 75 | | | |
| 43:12-16 | 54 | | | | 60:9-61:5a | v | | * | |
| 43:17-21a | v | | | | 61:5b-11a | 76 | | | |
| Lacuna (restored by late hand in margin fol. 54v) | | | | | 61:11b-62:2a | v | * | | eik. 32 |
| 44:5b-9a | 55 | | | | 62:2b-8a | 77 | | | |
| 44:9b-13a | v | | | eik. 22 | 62:8b-12 | v | | | |
| 44:13b-18a | 56 | | | | 63:1-6a | 78 | * | | |
| 44:18b-45:5a | v | * | | | 63:6b-10 | v | | | |
| Lacuna | | | | | (63:11-64:4 | 79 | | added leaf) | |
| 46:3b-10a | 57 | | | | (64:5-9a | v | |) | |
| 46:10b-47:5 | v | * | | | (64:9b-13 | 80 | | added leaf) | |
| 47:6-11a | 58 | | | | (64:14-65:5 | v | |) | |
| 47:11b-15 | v | | | | Lacuna | | | | |
| 48:1-7a | 59 | * | | | 65:15b-20a | 81 | | | |
| 48:7b-12a | v | | | | 65:20b-66:5a | v | * | | |
| 48:12b-15a | 60 | | | | 66:5b-67:3a | 82 | | | |
| 48:15b-21a | v | | | | 67:3b-7a | v | | | |
| 48:21b-49:4 | 61 | * | | eik. 23 fig. f | 67:7b-11 | 83 | | eik. 33 | |
| 49:5-10a | v | | | | 67:12-17a | v | | eik. 34 | |
| 49:10b-16a | 62 | | | | 67:17b-20 | 84 | | | |
| 49:16b-21a | v | | | | 67:21-25 | v | | | |
| Lacuna | | | | | 67:26-31a | 85 | | eik. 35 | |
| 50:7-12 | 63 | | | eik. 24 | 67:31b-35a | v | | eik. 36, 37 | |
| 50:13-18 | v | | | | 67:35b-68:4a | 86 | * | | |
| Lacuna | | | | | 68:4b-8a | v | | | |
| 51:8-11a | 64 | | | eik. 25 | 68:8b-13 | 87 | | eik. 38 | |
| 51:11b-52:5a | v | * | | | 68:14-17a | v | | | |
| 52:5b-7 | 65 | | | miniature | 68:17b-21a | 88 | | fig. h | |
| 53:1-6 | v | * | | eik. 26 | 68:21b-26 | v | | | |
| 53:7-54:3 | 66 | * | | | 68:27-32 | 89 | | eik. 39 | |
| 54:4-9a | v | | | | 68:33-37a | v | | | |
| 54:9b-14 | 67 | | | | 68:37b-69:4 | 90 | * | | |
| 54:15-19 | v | | | | 69:5-70:2a | v | * | | |
| 54:20-23 | 68 | | | | 70:2b-7 | 91 | | | |
| 54:24-55:5a | v | * | | eik. 27, 28 | 70:8-12 | v | | | |
| 55:5b-10a | 69 | | | eik. 29 | 70:13-17a | 92 | | | |
| 55:10b-56:1a | v | * | | | 70:17b-21a | v | | | |
| 56:1b-5a | 70 | * | | eik. 30 | 70:21b-24 | 93 | | | |
| | | | | | 71:1-6a | v | * | eik. 40 | |

| Psalm | folio | original rubric | min. no. | damage see | Psalm | folio | original rubric | min. no. | damage see |
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| Lacuna | | | | | 82:12b–18 | 116 | | | |
| 71:16b–19a | 94 | | | | 82:19–83:4a | v | | * | |
| 71:19b–72:4 | v | * | | | 83:4b–8 | 117 | | | |
| 72:5–10 | 95 | | | | 83:9–13 | v | | | |
| 72:11–17a | v | | | | 84:1–7 | 118 | * | eik. 61 | fig. i |
| 72:17b–23a | 96 | | | | 84:8–12a | v | | | eik. 62 |
| 72:23b–28a | v | | | | 84:12b–85:3 | 119 | * | | |
| 72:28b–73:3a | 97 | * | | | 85:4–9a | v | | | eik. 63 |
| 73:3b–8a | v | | | | 85:9b–14a | 120 | | | |
| 73:8b–13a | 98 | | eik. 41 | | 85:14b–86:1 | v | * | | |
| 73:13b–19a | v | | eik. 42 | | 86:2–6 | 121 | | | eik. 64 |
| 73:19b–23a | 99 | | | | 86:7–87:5 | v | * | | |
| 73:23b–74:6a | v | * | | | 87:6–10a | 122 | | | eik. 65 |
| 74:6b–11 | 100 | | | | 87:10b–15 | v | | | |
| 75:1–7a | v | * | | | 87:16–88:2 | 123 | * | | |
| 75:7b–13a | 101 | | | | 88:3–8a | v | | | |
| 75:13b–76:5 | v | * | | | 88:8b–12 | 124 | | | fig. j |
| 76:6–17a | St. Petersburg, cod. 265, fol. 3 | | | miniature | 88:13–17a | v | | | |
| 76:17b–77:1a | 102 | * | eik. 43. | 44 | 88:17b–22 | 125 | | | eik. 66 |
| 77:1b–5a | v | | eik. 45 | | 88:23–28 | v | | | |
| 77:5b–9a | 103 | | | | 88:29–34 | 126 | | | |
| 77:9b–14a | v | | eik. 46 | | 88:35–40 | v | | | |
| 77:14b–19a | 104 | | eik. 47 | | 88:41–45 | 127 | | | |
| 77:19b–23 | v | | | | 88:46–51a | v | | | |
| 77:24–29a | 105 | | eik. 48 | | 88:51b–89:4a | 128 | * | | eik. 67 |
| 77:29b–34 | v | | | | 89:4b–9a | v | | | |
| 77:35–38 | 106 | | | | 89:9b–13 | 129 | | | |
| 77:39–43 | v | | eik. 49 | | 89:14–17 | v | | | |
| 77:44–48a | 107 | | eik. 50 | | 90:1–6a | 130 | * | | |
| 77:48b–52a | v | | eik. 51 | | 90:6b–11a | v | | | eik. 68 |
| 77:52b–56a | 108 | | | | 90:11b–91:2a | 131 | * | | fig. k |
| 77:56b–61a | v | | | | 91:2b–8a | v | | | |
| 77:61b–66 | 109 | | eik. 52 | | 91:8b–13 | 132 | | | eik. 69 |
| 77:67–71 | v | | eik. 54 | | 91:14–92:3a | v | * | | |
| 77:72–78:3a | 110 | * | eik. 55 | | 92:3b–93:3 | 133 | * | | |
| 78:3b–8a | v | | | | 93:4–9 | v | | | |
| 78:8b–11a | 111 | | | | 93:10–16a | 134 | | | |
| 78:11b–79:2a | v | * | | | 93:16b–22a | v | | | |
| 79:2b–7a | 112 | | eik. 56 | | 93:22b–94:4a | 135 | * | | |
| 79:7b–12 | v | | | | 94:4b–9a | v | | | |
| Lacuna | | | | | 94:9b–[95:3] | 136 | * | | fig. 1 |
| 80:4–9a | 113 | | eik. 57 | | 95:4–9a | v | | | |
| 80:9b–14a | v | | | | 95:9b–96:1a | 137 | * | | eik. 70 |
| 80:14b–81:2 | 114 | * | eik. 58 | | 96:1b–7a | v | | | |
| 81:3–8 | v | | eik. 59 | | 96:7b–12a | 138 | | | eik. 71 |
| 82:1–7a | 115 | * | | | 96:12b–97:5a | v | * | | |
| 82:7b–12a | v | | eik. 60 | | 97:5b–98:1a | 139 | * | | fig. m |
| | | | | | [98:1b]–7a | v | | | |
| | | | | | 98:7b–99:3a | 140 | * | | eik. 72 |

| Psalm | folio | original rubric | min. no. | damage see | Psalm | folio | original rubric | min. no. | damage see |
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| 99:3b–100:3a | v | * | | | 111:5b–10a | v | | | |
| 100:3b–7 | 141 | | | | 111:10b–112:8a | 164 | * | | |
| 100:8–101:5a | v | * | | eik. 73 | 112:8b–113:6a | v | | | eik. 80 |
| 101:5b–12a | 142 | | | | 113:6b–12 | 165 | | | eik. 81 |
| 101:12b–18 | v | | | | 113:13–19a | v | | | |
| 101:19–25a | 143 | | | | 113:19b–26a | 166 | | | |
| 101:25b–102:1a | v | * | | | 113:26b–114:8a | v | * | | |
| 102:1b–7a | 144 | | | eik. 74 | 114:8b–115:6 | 167 | * | | |
| 102:7b–14a | v | | | | 115:7–116:2 | v | * | | |
| 102:14b–19 | 145 | | | | 117:1–7 | 168 | * | | |
| 102:20–103:1 | v | * | | | 117:8–14 | v | | | |
| 103:2–7 | 146 | | | | 117:15–[22a] | 169 | | | fig. q |
| 103:8–13a | v | | | | 117:22b–28 | v | | | |
| 103:13b–21a | 147 | | | | 117:29–118:4 | 170 | * | | |
| 103:21b–27a | v | | | | 118:5–10 | v | | | |
| 103:27b–33a | 148 | | | | 118:11–17 | 171 | | | |
| 103:33b–104:4a | v | * | | | 118:18–23 | v | | | |
| 104:4b–10 | 149 | | | | 118:24–29 | 172 | | | |
| 104:11–17 | v | * | | eik. 75 | 118:30–35 | v | | | |
| 104:18–[24a] | 150 | | | | 118:36–42 | 173 | | | |
| 104:24b–[30] | v | | | | 118:43–48 | v | | | |
| 104:31–37a | 151 | | | eik. 76 | 118:49–58 | 174 | | | |
| 104:37b–43 | v | | | eik. 77 | 118:59–67 | v | | | |
| 104:44–105:4 | 152 | * | | | 118:68–77a | 175 | | | |
| 105:5–9a | v | | | | 118:77b–86 | v | | | |
| Lacuna | | | | | 118:87–96 | 176 | | | |
| 105:23b–29a | 153 | | | eik. 78 | 118:97–106 | v | | | |
| 105:29b–35a | v | | | eik. 79 | 118:107–116 | 177 | | | |
| 105:35b–[40] | 154 | | | | 118:117–126 | v | | | |
| 105:41–[47a] | v | | | | 118:127–136 | 178 | | | |
| 105:47b–106:4a | 155 | * | | | 118:137–147 | v | | | |
| 106:4b–10a | v | | | | 118:148–158 | 179 | | | |
| 106:10b–15 | 156 | | | | 118:159–169 | v | | | |
| 106:16–21 | v | | | | 118:170–119:3a | 180 | * | | |
| 106:22–27a | 157 | | | | 119:3b–120:7a | v | * | | |
| 106:27b–33a | v | | | | 120:7b–121:9 | 181 | | | |
| 106:33b–39 | 158 | | | | 122:1–123:5a | v | * | | |
| 106:40–107:3 | v | * | | | 123:5b–124:4 | 182 | * | | eik. 82 |
| 107:4–10a | 159 | | | | 124:5–126:1a | v | * | | |
| 107:10b–108:2a | v | * | | | 126:1b–127:3a | 183 | | | |
| 108:2b–8 | 160 | | | | 127:3b–128:7 | v | | | |
| 108:9–15a | v | | | | 128:8–130:1a | 184 | * | | |
| 108:15b–20a | 161 | | | | 130:1b–131:6a | v | * | | [eik.] 83 |
| 108:20b–26a | v | | | | 131:6b–14a | 185 | | | |
| 108:27–109:5 | St. Petersburg, cod. 265, fol. 4 | | | | 131:14b–133:1a | v | * | | |
| | | miniature | | | 133:1b–134:5 | 186 | * | | |
| 109:5–110:4a | 162 | * | | | 134:6–11a | v | | | |
| 110:4b–9 | v | | | | 134:11b–17 | 187 | | | |
| 110:10–111:5a | 163 | * | | | 143 ² 134:18–135:4 | | | | |
| | | | | | 143 ³ 135:5–11 | 188 | | | |

Evidence points to the Psalter's long use and permits a relative chronology of some of the events that affected it. The psalm text was written on leaves folded into sheets of nearly square proportions; each now measures about 16.5 x 14.25 cm. The loss of most of the gathering numbers and psalm antiphons means that the leaves have been trimmed at the top and bottom.¹² The psalm text was written in uncial within a block reported to measure 9.0 x 7.0 cm.¹³ Where it can be determined, the scribe consistently copied twenty-one lines per leaf. The original text remains from folio 206v onward, and two of the illuminated leaves from this sequence have been published.¹⁴ As a sample of the handsome uncial I reproduce folio 209 (Fig. 1). With only one possible exception (fol. 110), the psalm titles and numbers were written in uncial; the numbers were set off with decorative scribal flourishes, and the titles were sometimes written on gold backgrounds (fols. 41v?, St. Petersburg, cod. 265, fol. 2, 68v?, 76v, 90v, 94v, 99v, 101v, 110, 111v, 121v, 136, 141v, 197v: Pss. 35?, 38, 55?, 62, 70, 72, 74, 76, 78, 79, 87, 95, 101, 143) as was the colophon at the foot of folio 205v.¹⁵ Evidence that the scribe(s) and illuminator worked closely exists in the miniature legends and their relationship with the psalm titles. The title on folio 70 runs over the miniature, conforming to its shape so exactly as to show that it was executed after the miniature was painted. The title was written in this manner because it also served as the miniature inscription. Most of the legends were written in uncial (e.g., Fig. 11), but a large number, concentrated in the second part of the manuscript, were done in half-uncial (fols. 16, 81, 84, St. Petersburg 3, 105 [Fig. 7], 106v, 107, 109, 109v, 112, 114, 118v, 125, 141, 149v, 153v); and a few leaves contain inscriptions in both scripts (fols. 68v, 115, 151v). Discussing the anti-iconoclastic poem that appears in the margin of folio 16, I. Ševčenko expressed the opinion that two hands were responsible for the inscriptions.¹⁶ K. Corrigan has commented on the use of different kinds of script from a historical perspective.¹⁷ Some legends have been retraced (e.g., Fig. 15), though at a date impossible to fix with accuracy.¹⁸

The scribe added nonbiblical apparatus that escaped the washing. He marked the quires at the inside margin of the recto of the first leaf by a cross drawn at the top of the leaf and the number, given in uncial at the foot. Remaining are folio 45, cross and number VIII? (H?);¹⁹ 105, cross only; 136, cross and number XXI (KA); 144, cross and XXII (KB); 159, cross and XXIV (KΔ); 166, cross and XXV (KE); 174 cross and XXVI (KS); 182, cross and XXVII (KZ); 190, cross and XXVIII (KH); 198, cross and XXIX (KΘ). The scribe wrote the psalm antiphons at the top center of the appropriate leaf according

¹²Granstrem, "Katalog," 236, reports the size of the St. Petersburg cuttings as 16.5 x 14 cm; Dufrenne, *Psautiers grecs*, 15, gives the dimensions of the Pantokrator leaves as 16.2 x 14.2 cm.

¹³Granstrem, "Katalog," 236.

¹⁴Fols. 212, 222: Dufrenne, *Psautiers grecs*, pls. 30, 33.

¹⁵The inscriptions were also written in different colors: brown (common throughout), red (cf. fols. 69, 102v: Pelekanides et al., *Hoi Thesauroi*, figs. 199, 210), blue (cf. fol. 70: *ibid.*, fig. 200), and in one instance a combination of red and blue (fol. 76v: *ibid.*, fig. 201).

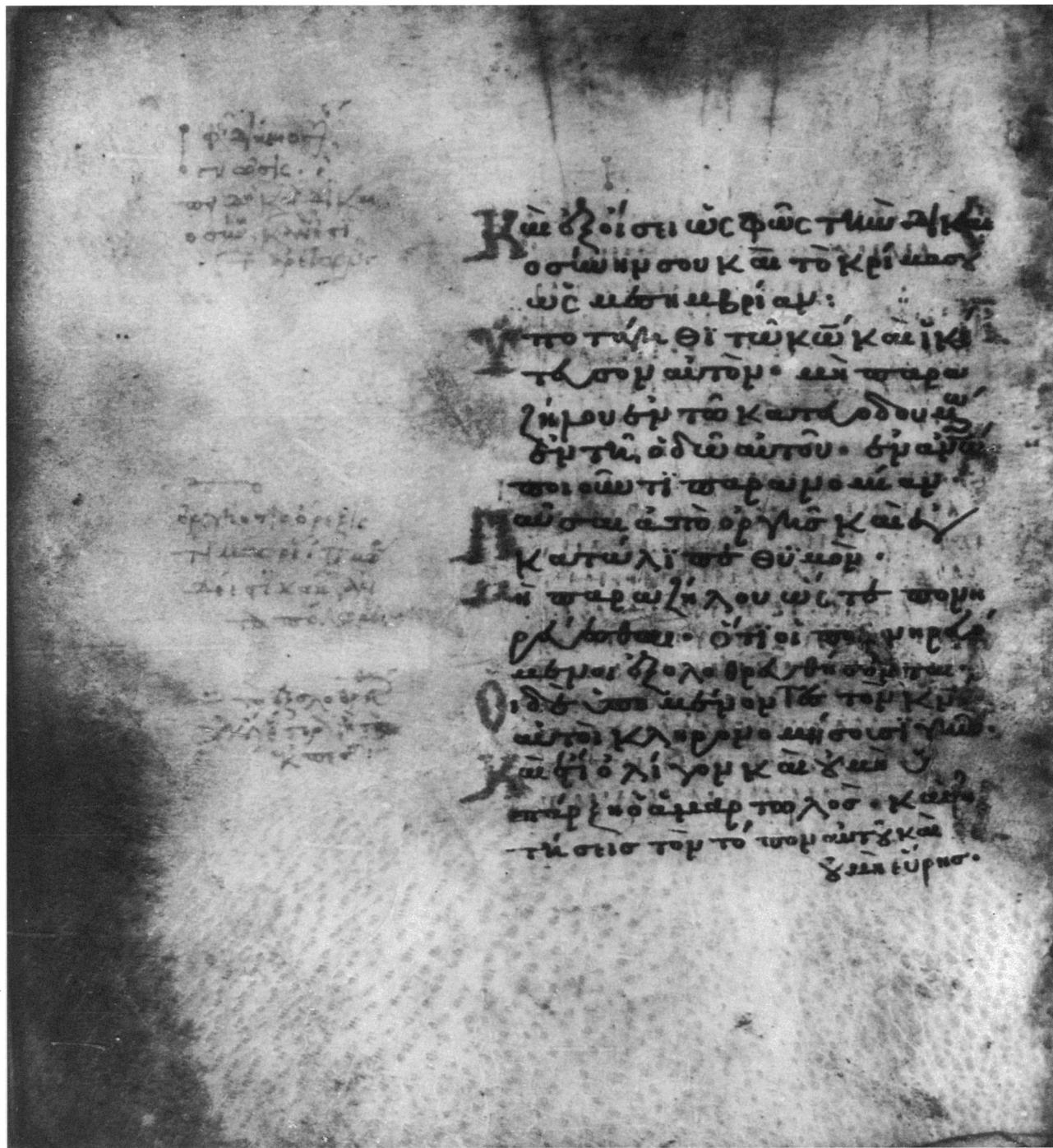
¹⁶I. Ševčenko, "The Anti-Iconoclastic Poem in the *Pantocrator Psalter*," *CahArch* 15 (1965), 52–53; according to a remark in note 12, Ševčenko also examined the manuscript at Athens in 1964.

¹⁷Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 146.

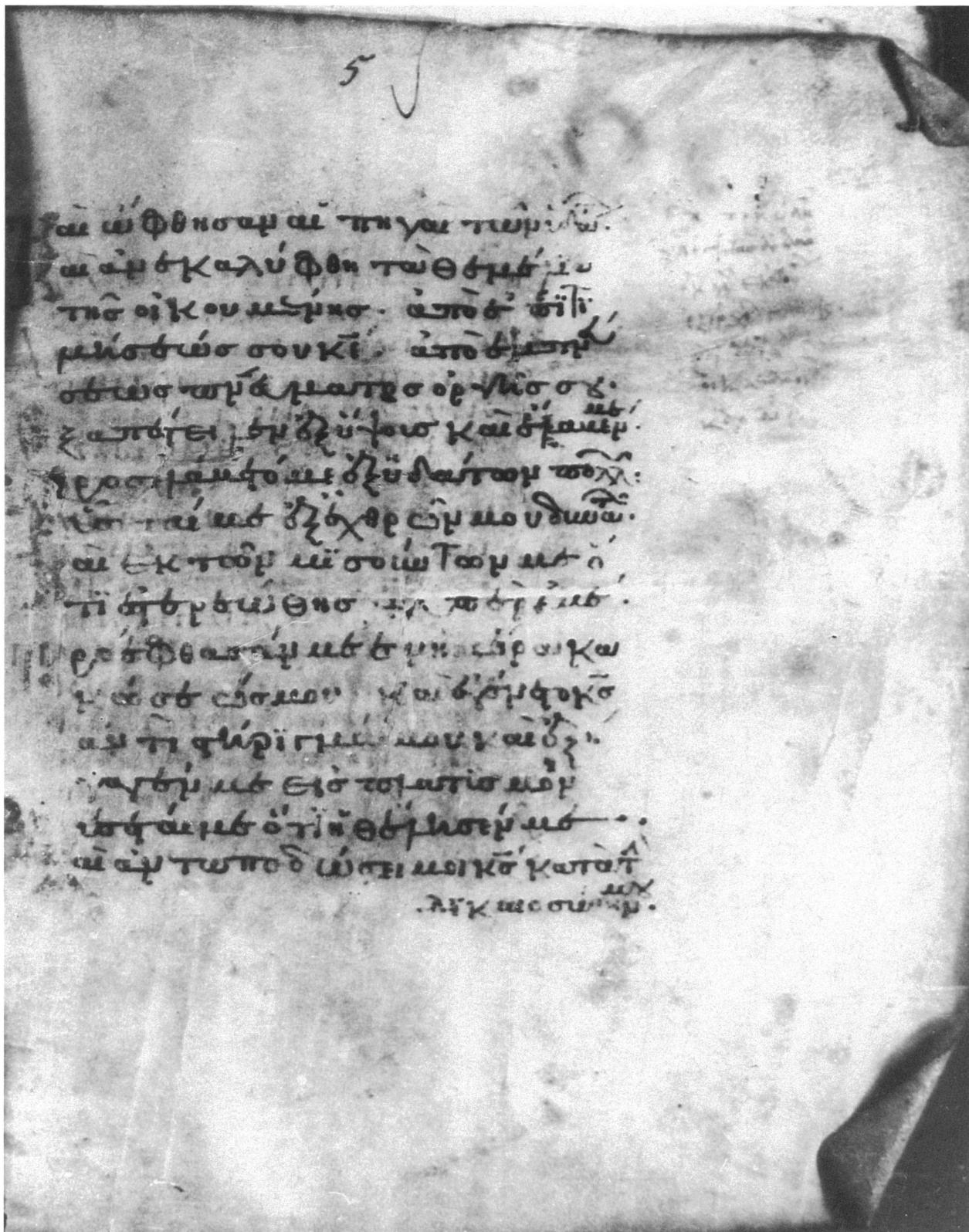
¹⁸Dufrenne, *Psautiers grecs*, 17, attributes the retracing to an eighteenth-century hand, though for unspecified reasons.

¹⁹If one assumes regular gatherings, then the number H (VIII) would be expected.

ἐρήμωνδινεπικάυματι
 ἐνάνυδρῳ.
 Εἰκόναςενάυτονκατέπαι
 δευτεράυτονκατέφυ
 λαζενάυτονώικορινοφωλ
 οἴεστοιεικεπαλινοστανέ
 ἀυτούκατεπιτιμεοσοι
 ἀυτούεπιπίθησι.
 Διεσταπτερυγασάντον
 οδεζατράυτονκατάνε
 λαβενάυτονεπιτώνμε
 τραφρενωναυτού.
 Κέμινοεπρεναυτούγεια
 δυισηνμετάντωντάλ
 λοτρεσασ.
 Ανεβιβασενάυτονεπιτού
 οιχυντησειεψώμητο
 ἀυτούγρενηματαλγρω
 Αθηναλιμέλειεπετρα
 Εικατέλαιονειεστρεασετρα
 βιυτυρούβωνιετραληρ



3 Mt. Athos, Pantokrator Monastery, cod. 61, fol. 43v, palimpsested folio, Ps. 36:1–5 and scholia by Evagrius of Pontos (cf. note 28)

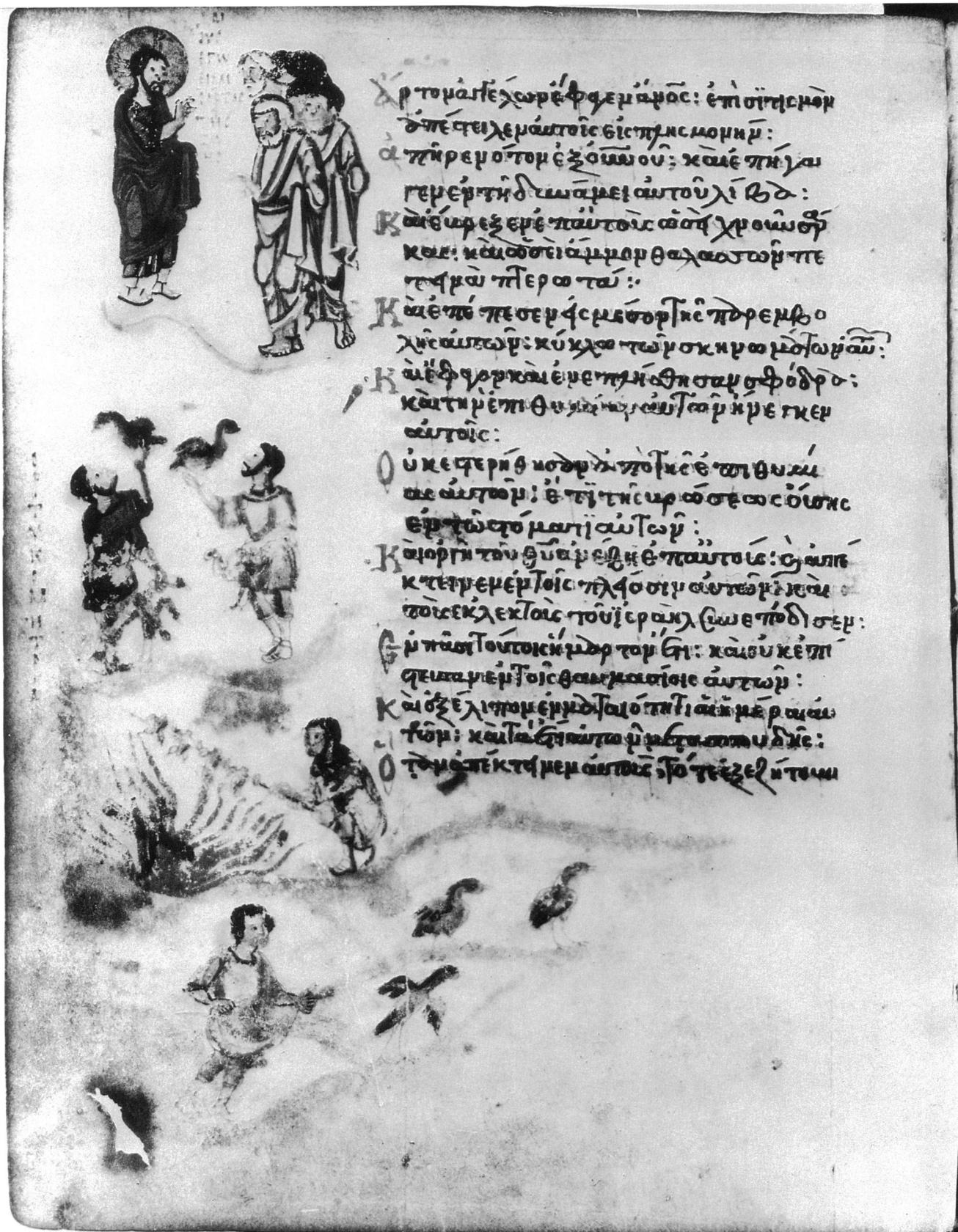


4 Mt. Athos, Pantokrator Monastery, cod. 61, fol. 5, stain from lost miniature

Καὶ ΚΘῆνι πατούσι μουτζού.
περὶ τὸν πατούσιν αὐτῷ:
σκραπτάντι πατούσι λαθύσαι.
αὐτὸν διατίθεται τῷ μὲν αὐτῷ αὐτῷ
τοῦ χειρόποντος τῷ δὲ πατούσιν αὐτῷ.
λαθύσαι πατούσι λαθύσαι τῷ πατούσιν αὐτῷ.
κρινόμενοι πατούσι.
Καὶ τοῖς πατούσι πατούσι Καὶ
διατίθεται τῷ πατούσιν αὐτῷ.
τοῦ δὲ αὐτοῦ πατούσιν αὐτῷ.

ΨΑΛΛΕΙΣΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΖΑΡΟΥ ΕΓΓΕΙ

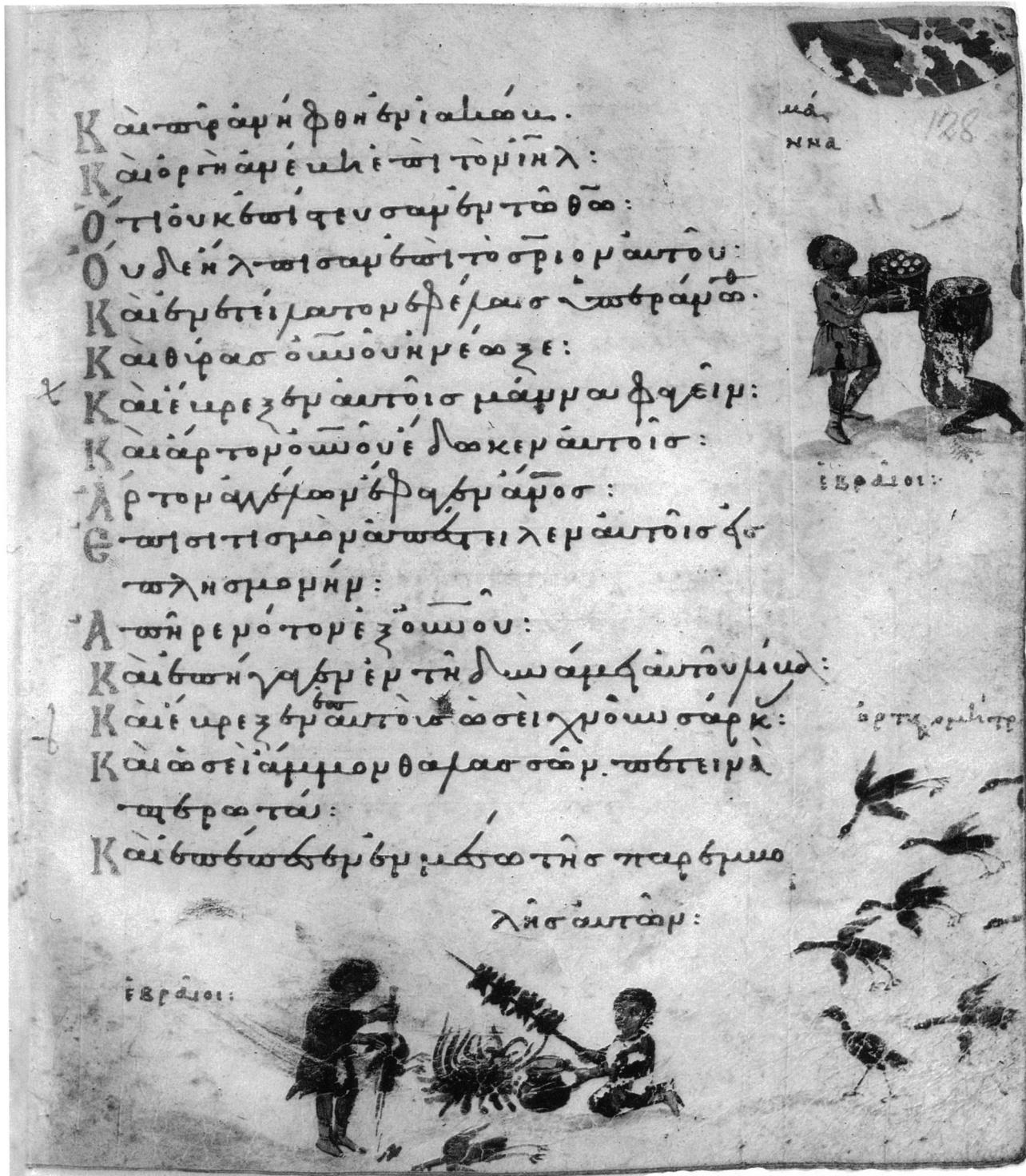
5 Mt. Athos, Pantokrator Monastery, cod. 61, fol. 12, stain from lost miniature



6 Moscow, State Historical Museum, gr. 129, fol. 76v, Christ and the Miracle of the Quail and Manna (Ps. 77:25-29)
(photo: after Ščepkina)



7 Mt. Athos, Pantokrator Monastery, cod. 61, fol. 105 (Ps. 77:25–29)
(photo: courtesy of the Byzantine Museum, Athens)





9 London, British Library, Add. MS 40, 731, fol. 93, David flees from Saul (Ps. 58:1)
(photo: courtesy the British Library, London)

τὰς μείδας Γωνίας οὐτωμ *Επαναποτεμ*

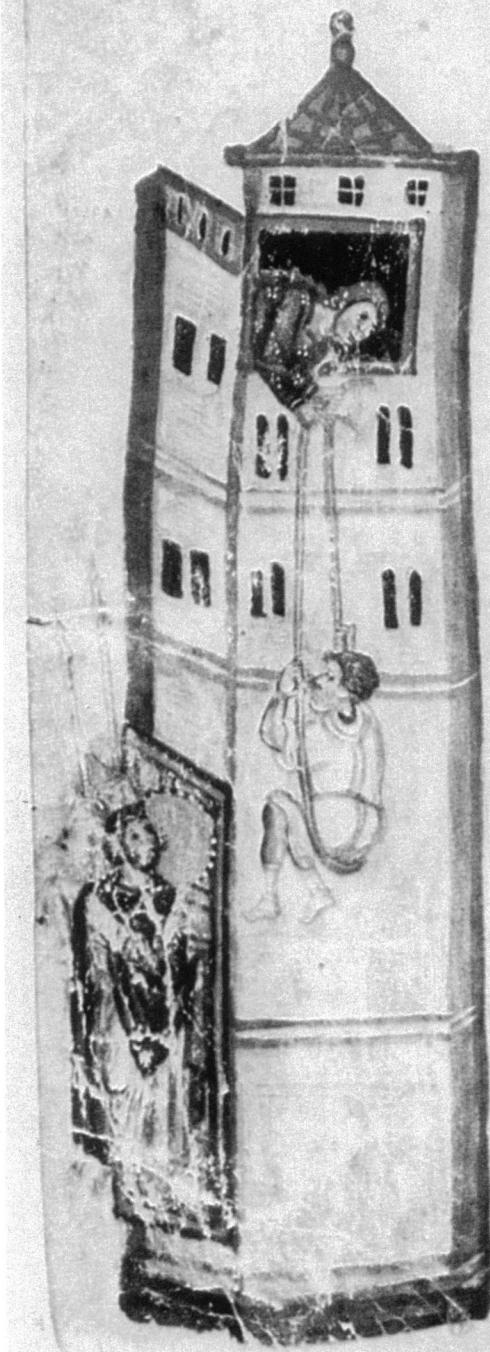
δ. Χ. Σ.

Εἰσαδε μωσεῖον τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόσωπον
πορείαν ερεβον: εἴμετε μετὰ τὸν πρόσωπον
τοῦ θεοῦ σαν οὐλούθερά σεστριμ:
Ωδέ Κηρύκειαν φέρετε την προστασίαν:
Ἐπεστησούτε παιδισκάκιαν καὶ θύμην
πορείαν:

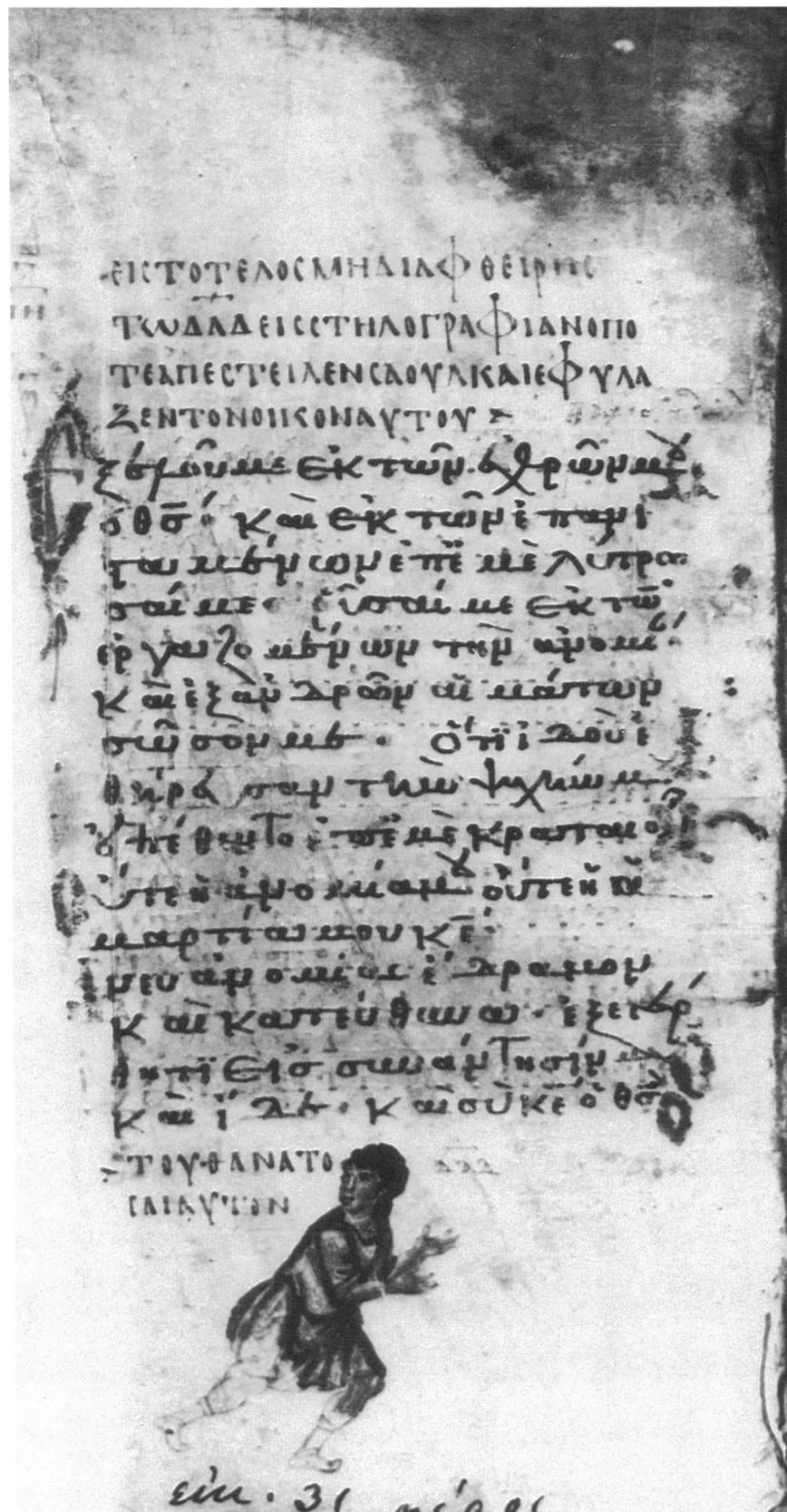
Προτοτευχαίτε μου Γαστούσαρην μεταμόν
τε μόναρχον: εύστι: Καρυκεύοντας εἰρ
σορτίκοις επεντελεῖσθαι: Ανθαρέσ
τε παιδίαν μοσείταρι: Διατελεῖσθαι
στην τοιχίαν χειραποστέλεσθαι:
Εργάσθηστε τὸν θεούντος θρόνον:
Κατέρρευτος αὔρων θεού κινητοστόν
κάσσο: αριστερήθετος ιεράγαγον
εργάτην: — ορέα:

Επερμέντα φράρηστα δομαί,
Επιλογραφήσαν: οπύτεδιπλανε
πολιντρέφειλαν: επονούκαν: θετο
τούβληματωσι: οιτον: :

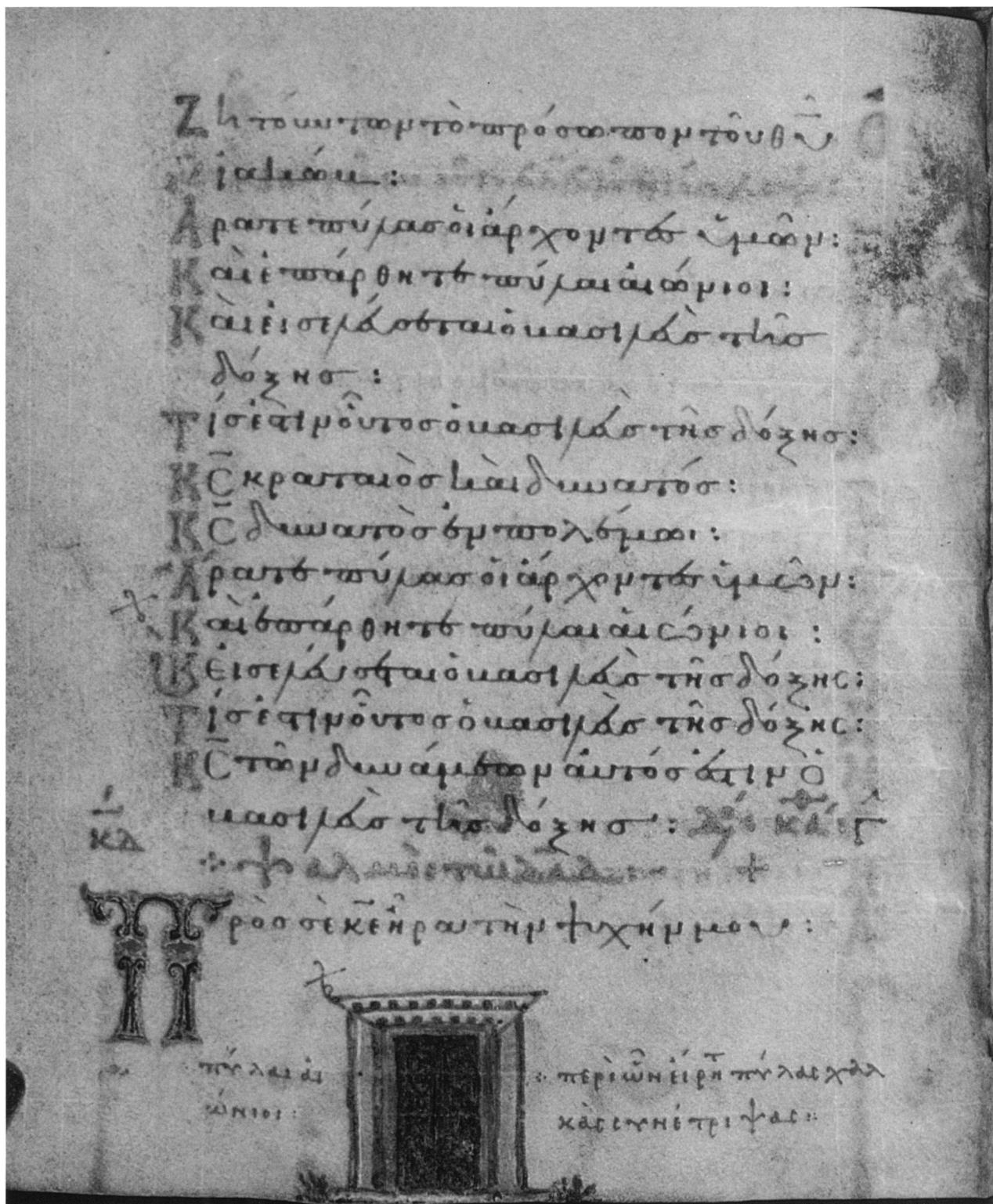
Εξελύμεεκτωμέχθρωρ μετόθε:
Κακέκταμέπομιεπαφέμερέ: πέρε



10 Moscow, State Historical Museum, gr. 129, fol. 56v (Ps. 58:1) (photo: after Ščepkina)



11 Mt. Athos, Pantokrator Monastery, cod. 61, fol. 72v (Ps. 58:1)
(photo: courtesy of the Byzantine Museum, Athens)



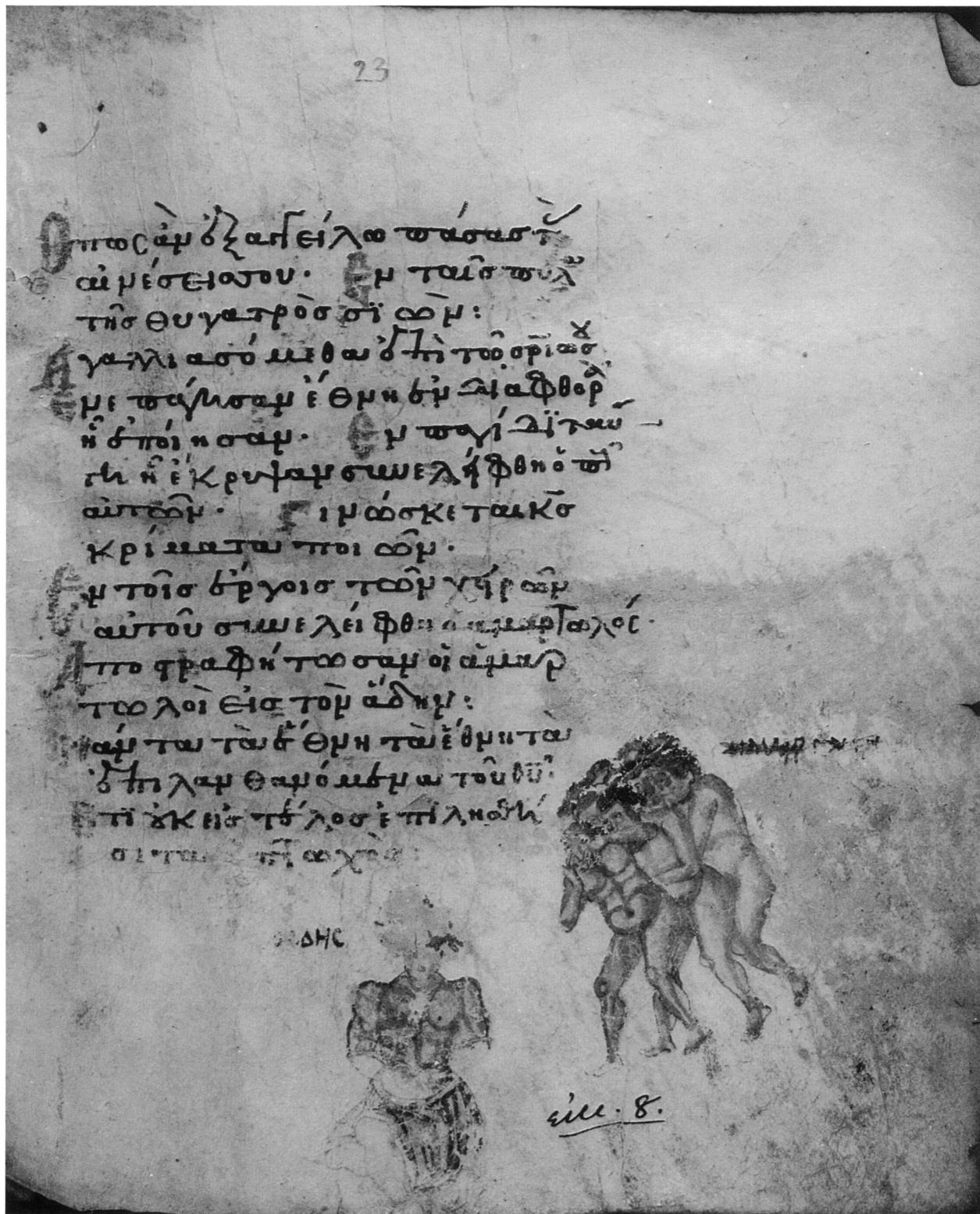
12 London, British Library, Add. MS 40, 731, fol. 38v, Everlasting Gates (Ps. 23:9)
(photo: courtesy the British Library, London)



13 Moscow, State Historical Museum, gr. 129, fol. 22, Ascension of Christ (Ps. 23:9–10) (photo: after Ščepkina)



14 Moscow, State Historical Museum, gr. 129, fol. 119v, Gates of Paradise (Ps. 117:20)
(photo: after Ščepkina)



15 Mt. Athos, Pantokrator Monastery, cod. 61, fol. 23, Sinners Driven to Hades (Ps. 9:18)
 (photo: courtesy of the Byzantine Museum, Athens)

18
παθρήτωρ:

Ἐλένησόμυτεκε. ίδε τὴ μταπάρωσι
μούσκτωρ μέθρωρ μου:

Οιτόρμυτεκτώρων λῶρ τὸν θερᾶ.

Οπωσάμεξωλατωάσσασ πάσαι
μέττισσου:

Ερτάστων/μαστήσθυμτροσσι-

λαμμασσομέθαιστωτῶσσου:

Εμβωάμησαμέθημέδιαθθοράλι.

δωσινσαμ:

Εμωρίδιτάντηλιέκρυταμ. συ:

λήφθητωσάμπωρ:

Γιμώσκεται λεσκρίματωτωιώρ.

Θυτοίσθρυτοστῶρ μέτρωμάτον

* σωελήφθητάμετρτωλόσ:

Απωτραθήτωσαμοίαμεττωμοί:

Ειστοράιδησ:



to the system also used in the Chludov Psalter and the Paris Fragment (gr. 20).²⁰ The antiphons have been discussed and examples from other manuscripts reproduced by O. Strunk.²¹ The antiphons that survive, sometimes only the bottoms of letters, follow the order and content given by Strunk. Traces of antiphons or complete inscriptions appear on folio 71 (Ps. 57), 86 (Ps. 68), 90v (Ps. 70), 100v (Ps. 75), 110 (Ps. 78), 115 (Ps. 82), 138v (Ps. 97), 141v (Ps. 101), 143v (Ps. 102), 148v (Ps. 104), 152 (Ps. 105), 158v (Ps. 107). It is important to note that although the scribe wrote the refrains used in cathedral services, he did not include the apparatus that we associate with monastic practice, the markings for the twenty *kathismata* (found, for two significant instances, in the Paris Fragment and Chludov Psalter). I find no traces of numbers or of abstract signs designating the divisions written in the hand of the original scribe(s). The colophon may be germane to question of apparatus; it simply reads (fol. 205v) “book of 150 psalms.” The related Chludov Psalter has the monastic apparatus, and its colophon enumerates the *kathismata* and *staseis* along with the psalms. The abbreviation *kath* and numbers visible in the Pantokrator were added by the individual who went through the manuscript and wrote many of the psalm numbers in half-uncial next to the original uncial numbers; this user also added the catchword “glory,” *do(xa)*, for the refrain (“Glory to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit”) that marks the internal divisions of the *kathismata*, the *staseis*. Confirmation of the lateness of these notations exists in the number of them that have been written in spaces from which original text was erased; to the list compiled by Corrigan can be added the abbreviation *do(xa)* on folio 145v.²² A reasonable inference has the monastic apparatus being added at the time the manuscript was converted to minuscule; it was likely at this time that the antiphons of cathedral use were mostly lost through indifference to their value.

When the leaves were washed the original titles and numbers were carefully preserved and allowed to stand as a decorative counterpoint to the minuscule (Figs. 5, 11). The later scribe generally kept to the original text block, but varied the number of lines from sixteen to twenty-one. The rate at which the scribe wrote was apparently controlled by the wish to use the original manuscript and to do so leaf for leaf. Some of the points at which the upper text begins and ends may not be precisely the same as those of the lower text; nevertheless, the presence of the original numbers and titles, on the folios marked by an asterisk in the enumeration of contents, guarantees that the text is roughly the same on most of the sheets. The inevitable conclusion is that the sheets and their original order were preserved when the manuscript was rewritten; if a miniature does not appear it is because none was ever painted. The integrity of the fragment might be inferred on other grounds. The Pantokrator Psalter is a highly unusual palimpsest since the upper and lower texts are identical. In this regard it recalls the contemporary Chludov Psalter, which was rewritten in minuscule around the same time. One assumes that

²⁰Chludov Psalter: Moscow, Gosudarstvennij Istoricheskiy Muzej (State Historical Museum), gr. 129: M. Ščepkina, *Miniatjury Khludovskoj Psaltyri* (Moscow, 1977); Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*. For the Paris Fragment see Dufrenne, *Psautiers grecs*, 41–46, pls. 34–46; and H. Omont, *miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale du VI^e au XIV^e siècle*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1929), 40–43, pls. LXXIII–LXXVIII.

²¹O. Strunk, “The Byzantine Office at Hagia Sophia,” *DOP* 9–10 (1955–56), 175–202.

²²Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 144.

an appreciation of the miniatures shaped the decision to save and methodically renew the manuscripts. Apparently the minuscule was more congenial to medieval readers than was uncial, a circumstance difficult to grasp; Erwin Panofsky once discussed a similar case involving Latin inscriptions written in both Carolingian and Gothic scripts.²³ Perhaps some information regarding the use of the biblical odes is contributed by the Psalter, for the second scribe did not rewrite them in minuscule.²⁴ When the Chludov Psalter was washed and restored, most, but not all, of the odes it contained were converted to minuscule.²⁵

The date at which the manuscript was rewritten cannot be documented through internal evidence. Two leaves (fols. 79, 80) are replacements likely added when the manuscript was rewritten. I reproduce folio 80 (Fig. 2), which shows the scribe writing more smoothly over the surface of fresher parchment. The restoration and rewriting of the Psalter probably coincided with the addition of the marginal scholia. The scholia elucidate only the psalms (not the odes) and appear in all three margins, though most often in the expansive side margins. Because of their location, the scholia prove difficult to compare in style with the main script, which appears more deliberate in shape, the individual strokes darker and denser. But one should not necessarily conclude that the differences result from two scribes' having worked on the manuscripts at different times. When writing the scholia, the scribe enjoyed more freedom than when trying to fill a precise amount of space with script written in a somewhat more formal manner. Moreover, the treated surface, whether washed or scraped, apparently had more tooth, so that the pen dragged and the parchment took more ink.²⁶ The style of the text on the two untreated leaves (Fig. 2) offers some evidence for the probable contemporaneity of psalm text and scholia. The scholia, which appear to be homogeneous in content as well as style of script, were composed by Evagrius of Pontus (346–399) and elsewhere appear embedded in

²³ E. Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Garden City, N.J., 1955), 51–52, fig. 15.

²⁴ The odes as titled and numbered by the scribe are:

- 1, Moses Ode (206), Exod. 15:1–19;
- 2, Deuteronomy Ode (208), Deut. 32:1–43;
- 3, Prayer of Anna (212), 1 Kings 2:1–10;
- 4, Ode of Habakkuk (213v), Hab. 3:2–19;
- 5, Prayer of Isaiah (216), Isa. 26:9–20;
- 6, Prayer of Jonah (217v), Jon. 2:3–10;
- 7, Prayer of Hezekiah (219), Isa. 38:10–20;
- 8, Prayer of Manasseh (220), Ode 12;
- 9, Prayer of the Three Youths, Dan Θ 3:26–56;
- [10] Prayer of the Three Youths, Dan Θ 3:57–[?].

The text breaks off.

The text of 9 [and 10] follows the Theodotion Text of the book of Daniel, not the Ode redaction given by Rahlfs. The scribe wrote the text continuously to fol. 225v (Dan Θ 3:57), at which point he added a new ode number, impossible to read but presumably 10. The hole that appears in the center of the text block of the last leaves does not prevent tracing the continuity until the final two leaves, which are quite badly damaged.

²⁵ For the content see R. Stichel, review of Šćepkina, *Miniatjury*, in *BZ* 74 (1981), 316–62; Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 141. Of the odes copied, at least four, Rahlfs 11, 12, 13, 14, were left in uncial script; the odes were also renumbered at the time they were recopied.

²⁶ For the thin quality of the ink, Corrigan's suggestion (*Visual Polemics*, 146) that the scholia have been erased is less acceptable.

several catenae.²⁷ The entire selection numbers around three hundred entries, though not this many appear in the Pantokrator Psalter, and some in the Psalter represent extracts of the text as it has been printed. Folio 43v, illustrated here for the clarity of the writing (Fig. 3), contains three scholia to Psalm 36.²⁸ The handwriting of the scholia and added leaves contribute valuable information to the debate over the date when the manuscript was rewritten. On the basis of the psalm text, one might conservatively place the rewriting and addition of the scholia any time during the second half of the twelfth or the thirteenth century. The freedom exhibited on folio 80 (Fig. 2) may lead us to favor the later of the limits.²⁹

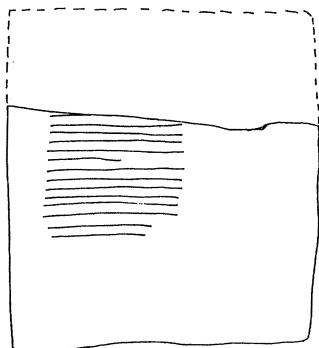
At some time after the manuscript was converted to minuscule and the scholia copied, one or more hands began removing miniatures, either by simply taking the entire leaf, as Bishop Uspenskij later did, or by cutting the illustrations from the margins. When the miniatures were excised from the margins, the psalm text was usually spared but the scholia less often so. I will return to this vandalism. By the time Bishop Uspenskij saw the manuscript and removed four leaves, it was in a damaged state, with gatherings lost, others out of order, and most of the cuttings removed. After his visit the leaves were foliated and the miniatures sequentially numbered, but incorrectly since the manuscript was already in disarray. The individual who numbered the miniatures also noted that several of them (fol. 61, 72v, 118v, 149v) were fragments of the originals; he did this by writing the word *meros*, or “part,” next to the miniature number (Fig. 11). In two instances (fol. 61, 149v) the truncation is obvious. The loss from the scene on folio 72v may also be self-evident. The missing portion of folio 118v (Fig. i) would appear to be little more than a corner, an insignificant loss, were it not for the later remark. On the strength of the parallel with the awkward composition of the Visitation in the Chludov Psalter (fol. 85), it can be suggested that the infants John the Baptist and Christ were cut from the bottom of the composition, which happened to coincide with the corner of the leaf. One would like to know on what authority the scenes were labeled as fragmentary; that is, did the writer have knowledge of the manuscript before at least some of the vandalism occurred? I am unable to answer this question.³⁰ Since the 1870s four more leaves have been lost (fol. 1, 6, 7, and 8). Stubs are often visible where leaves were

²⁷ On them see M.-J. Rondeau, “Le commentaire sur les Psaumes d’Evagre le Pontique,” *OCP* 26 (1960), 307–46; and idem, *Les commentaires patristiques du psautier (III^e - V^e siècles)*, I, OCA, 219 (Rome, 1982), 203–71. The scholia were originally published as the work of Origen; the first set of scholia, PG 12, 1053–1686, were supplemented by J.-B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra spicilegio solemensi*, II (Venice, 1883), 444–83; III, 1–364; some also appear in the commentary in PG 27, cols. 60–545.

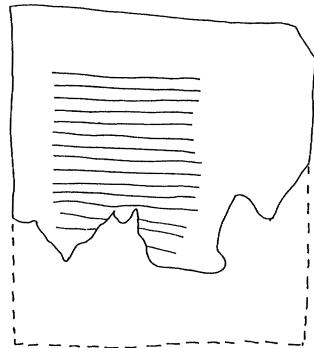
²⁸ They are: first to Ps. 36:6, φ(ῶς) δικαιοσ(ύ)νης γνῶσις ἐπειδὴ καὶ δικαιοσύνη καν(ῶν) ἐστι τ(ῶν) ἀρετῶν (cf. Pitra, *Analecta sacra*, III, 10); to Ps. 36:8, ὥργη ἐστιν ὄρεξις τιμωρί(ας) τιμωρ(ία) δέ ἐστι κακοῦ ἀνταπόδοσις (PG 12, col. 1317A); and to Ps. 36:9, τὸ ἐξολοθρευθ(ῆναι) ονδε(ν) ἔτερ(όν) ἐστὶν ἐκπεσ(εῖν) (ibid.).

²⁹ Compare the style to that of Oxford, Bodleian Lib., Laud gr. 40, dated 1289/90 (A. Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Great Britain*, DOS 17 [Washington, 1980], 56–57, pl. 40), or to that of London, British Library, Add. MS 29,714, dated 1305/6 (ibid., 69–70, pl. 47).

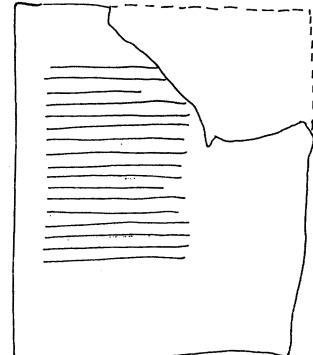
³⁰ The same hand seems to have been responsible for the numbering of the miniatures in the Dumbarton Oaks Psalter-New Testament (MS 3), which was once in the Pantokrator Monastery library (S. Der Nersessian, “A Psalter and New Testament Manuscript at Dumbarton Oaks,” DOP 19 [1965], 155, on the provenance; her illustrations show the numbers near the miniatures). The identification means that the numbers had been added by the 1930s.



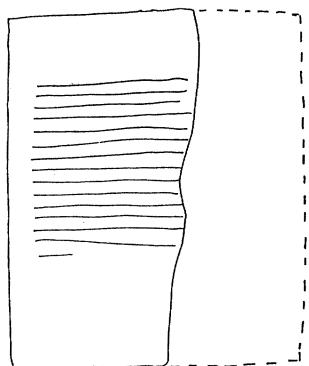
a Fol. 21



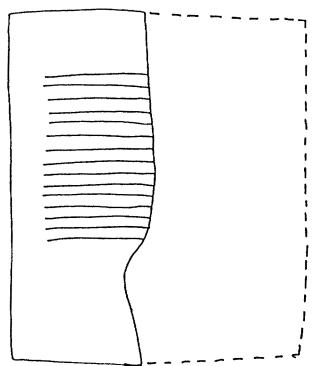
b Fol. 2



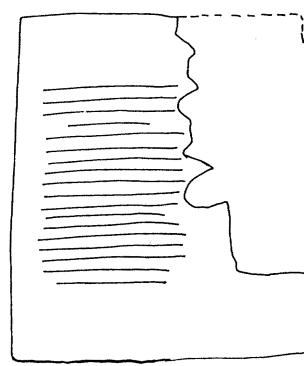
c Fol. 4



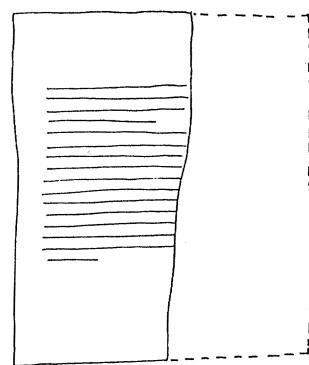
d Fol. 11



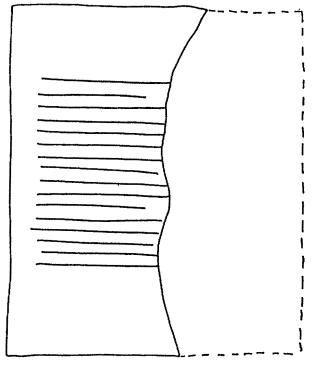
e Fol. 20



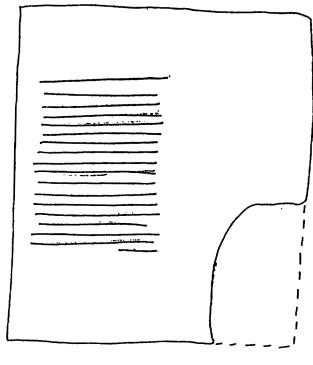
f Fol. 61



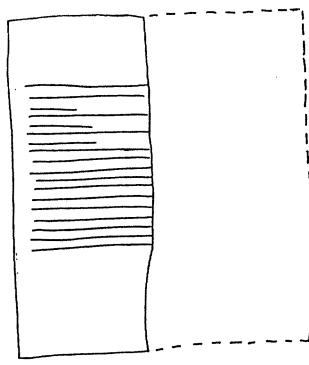
g Fol. 72



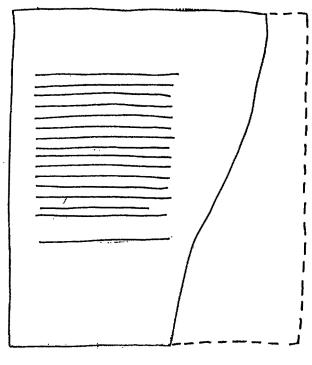
h Fol. 88



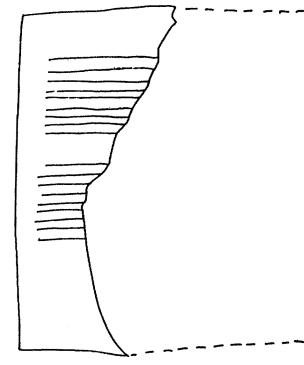
i Fol. 118



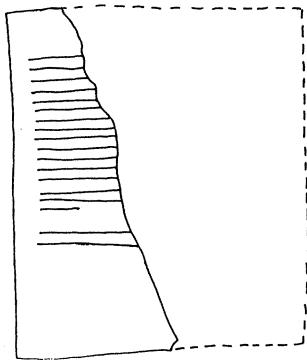
j Fol. 124



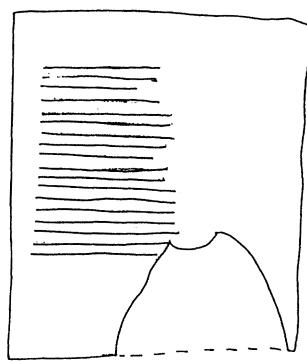
k Fol. 131



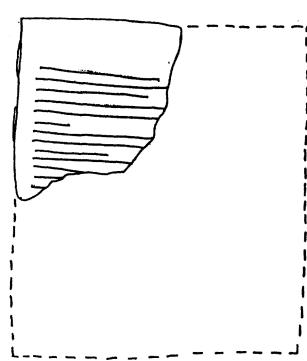
l Fol. 136



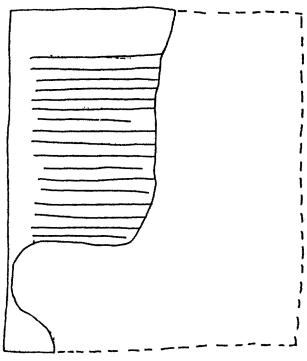
m Fol. 139



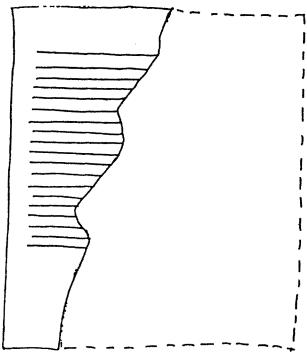
n Fol. 149



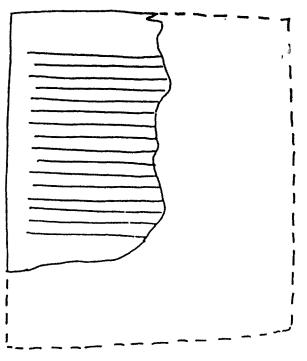
o Fol. 150



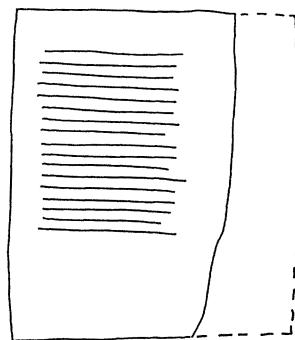
p Fol. 154



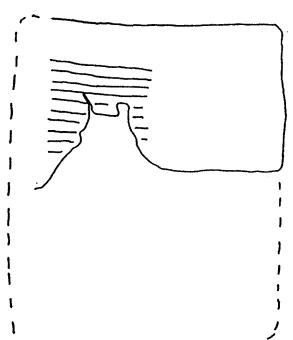
q Fol. 169



r Fol. 189



s Fol. 198



t Fol. 226

removed, but strips that at first seem to be stubs also appear at points where the manuscript has suffered no losses, a circumstance that suggests restoration to strengthen the leaves and quires. A parchment patch sits over a tear in folio 33 (overwritten by the scribe of the minuscule), and strips cut from a medieval *prophetologion* appear between folios 35 and 36, 45 and 46, 49 and 50, 196 and 197.³¹

The losses deserve particular mention since they so strongly affect the art historical discussion. Those at the front and back of the Pantokrator Psalter (Figs. b, t) perhaps result from the heavy wear and tear a book suffers when the binding has been destroyed or badly damaged.³² Sometimes margins are trimmed to get repair strips. The knowledge that some strips came from another source, the *prophetologion*, does not rule out the possibility that the restorer made repairs with strips from the Pantokrator itself. The possibility is unlikely because an obvious source of material existed in the section containing the odes, which has no illustrations and bears a text that was not worth recopying. Since these leaves were not cut, one suspects many of the losses, both missing pieces of margins and entire sheets, to result from one or more users' having harvested images. Physical evidence substantiating this assertion is difficult to find. No off-printing appears in the microfilm of the manuscript, but the ground used to attach the gold sometimes stained the next leaf, and this staining is quite visible on three leaves facing cuttings. In addition, some small patches of paint have survived the knife as reminders of miniatures. Altogether, evidence of five lost miniatures can be identified.

At the top right corner of folio 5 are the stains from two haloes painted relatively close together (Fig. 4); opposite them the top margin of folio 4, which contains Ps. 17:10b–15a on the verso, has been trimmed (Fig. c). These haloes may belong to the angels above Christ in a version of the Ascension like that found on folio 27v of the Bristol Psalter.

Near the top of the side margin of folio 12 appear stains from Christ's halo, the two strips of his *colobium*, and the inscription tablet: unmistakable traces of the Crucifixion that once stood in the margin of folio 11v, which contains Ps. 21:17b–23a (Fig. d). A Roman soldier, once nearly prostrate at the foot of the cross, was left on the remaining part on the leaf; he was apparently a superfluous or undesirable part of the subject.

In the side margin of folio 19v are the traces of four haloes arranged in a pattern conforming to that of the nimbed figures in the Baptism of Christ (Fig. 5). The edge of folio 20, containing Ps. 28:1b–5, has been trimmed (Fig. e), although a small patch of paint remains from perhaps the river and riverbank.

A large trace of paint appears at the bottom right edge of the loss on folio 88 (Fig. h), where another Crucifixion may have been painted.

A second patch of paint can be seen on folio 21 recto, toward the right side of the leaf just below the cut (Fig. a); our best conjecture, made on the basis of the Bristol Psalter, folio 15v, has the Entry into Jerusalem having been painted at this point.

Apart from these five instances (three of which directly preserve some part of the

³¹The recto of the strip between folios 35 and 36 contains the beginning of the Ezekiel reading for the feast of the Virgin's birth, 8 Sept; see *Prophetologium, pars altera: Lectiones anni immobilis*, ed. G. Engberg, *Monumenta musicae byzantinae: lectionaria*, I (Copenhagen, 1980–81), 13.

³²I can report nothing about the binding. Dufrenne, *Psautiers grecs*, 15, writes that the incorrect order of early gatherings is explained "par l'état défectueux de la reliure et des débuts du manuscrit."

image once on the lost parchment), one is left to compare the losses and sometimes their shapes with the miniatures of the Chludov and Bristol Psalters to determine what, if anything, was removed. Because of their inherently speculative nature, such comparisons must be taken up in a wider context of historical interpretation.

The collation of the Pantokrator Psalter can be put to use in establishing the relationship between the ninth-century manuscript and the later Bristol Psalter. This relationship bears directly on questions surrounding the earliest Psalters with exegetical illustration. The manuscripts and related issues are sufficiently well known to require only the briefest summary.³³ The three ninth- or tenth-century Psalters are the earliest Greek examples to survive with illustration. They are related to one another through the subjects illustrated and the approach to composition, as well as through their style of painting. The Paris Fragment stands slightly apart from the other two Psalters in style and perhaps content, so the extreme damage it has suffered is especially regrettable. The illuminators' use of a model—indeed, the very existence of a single source—has been debated. Though obviously related, the manuscripts cannot all be faithful copies of the same book. A fragile consensus holds that some source was available but that the artists, in consultation with the patrons, enjoyed considerable latitude in reproducing its cycle. In 1964, S. Dufrenne argued that the eleventh-century Bristol Psalter reflected the model used by the maker of the Pantokrator Psalter.³⁴ The Bristol Psalter was therefore as close as one could get to the source used by the illuminators of the ninth-century manuscripts, as well as to the roots of exegetical Psalter illustration in Byzantium. The argument proceeded from a basic and indisputable truth about the Bristol and Pantokrator Psalters: some particularly close relationship exists between them. Its strength overcomes whatever reticence the fragmentary nature of our knowledge naturally inspires.

As a token demonstration of the relationship between the Pantokrator and Bristol Psalters, I cite the sequence of miniatures for part of the seventy-seventh psalm. In the Chludov Psalter (fol. 76v, Ps. 77:25–34a) the illustration begins in the top margin with Christ saying to a group of men, “I am the bread of life” (John 6:35); below, two men snatch quail from the air as another roasts some birds over a fire. Although the illuminator had illustrated the gathering of the manna on the recto, he may have alluded to this aspect of the miracle, relevant to the depiction of Christ, by showing the lowest figure walking toward a group of birds as he carries something in the apron devised from his tunic (Fig. 6). The comparable leaf of the Pantokrator Psalter contains Ps. 77:24–29a (Fig. 7) and begins with a similar group, although one in which the listeners were specified “Jews” and Christ’s words were paraphrased: “Christ is the bread of life.”³⁵ Farther down

³³In addition to the contributions of K. Corrigan, L. Mariès, and I. Ševčenko already cited, see C. Walter, “Christological Themes in the Byzantine Marginal Psalters from the Ninth to the Eleventh Century,” *REB* 44 (1986), 272–82; A. Frolow, “La fin de la querelle iconoclaste et la date des plus anciens psautiers grecs à illustration marginale,” *RHR* 163 (1963), 201–23; A. Grabar, *L'Iconoclasme byzantin: Dossier archéologique* (Paris, 1957), 196–202 and *passim*.

³⁴S. Dufrenne, “Le psautier de Bristol et les autres psautiers byzantins,” *CahArch* 14 (1964), 159–82 (hereafter, “Psautier de Bristol”). The first publication was that of M. Perry, “An Unnoticed Byzantine Psalter,” *Burlington Magazine* 38 (1921), 119–28, 282–89. All the miniatures were subsequently published by Dufrenne, *Psautiers grecs*, 49–66, pls. 47–60.

³⁵The inscriptions are not at issue in this essay. As this pair demonstrates, the legends change from one manuscript to the next, but do so according to patterns not necessarily relevant to the descent of the minia-

the side margin and continuing into the bottom are the gathering of the manna and quail. In the Pantokrator illustration no one plucks birds from the sky. Instead, one man kills a quail with a knife as another roasts four spitted birds. The image in the Bristol Psalter relates to those of both ninth-century manuscripts (Fig. 8), albeit in simplified form. Close comparison, though, reveals that the Bristol image, where it echoes the Pantokrator Psalter, conforms nearly exactly to its composition. Such cases of agreement could be multiplied to include others in which Bristol and Pantokrator stand together against the Chludov Psalter, not only in subject matter but also in insignificant matters of pose and figure placement.³⁶ In light of the strong similarities between the Bristol and Pantokrator Psalters, heightened by the differences with the Chludov, the Paris Fragment proves difficult to evaluate because of losses. The subjects it does contain often differ from those in the Bristol Psalter; and when identical subjects can be found, no significant compositional similarities exist between the Bristol Psalter and Paris Fragment.³⁷ The Paris Fragment is not directly relevant to the issue, except perhaps as a reminder that even among apparently related works a range of expression can exist.

The most direct explanation of the elements common to the ninth- and eleventh-century Psalters is the one that respects their chronological order: the Bristol Painter worked from the Pantokrator Psalter. Only the most compelling evidence could warrant any other conclusion. The strongest argument devised to support a common derivation from a lost work has been based on the content of the Pantokrator Psalter; in addition, a handful of compositions in the Bristol Psalter have been characterized as reflecting versions current at a time before the Pantokrator Psalter was illuminated. On the basis of this judgment the scope and tenor of the Bristol cycle have been accepted as reflecting an era earlier than the ninth century.

The argument held up as logically compelling is based on the different contents of the Pantokrator, Chludov, and Bristol Psalters; sometimes, different approaches to the treatment of the same subjects have also been cited. The illustration of Psalm 58 gives an example. On folio 93 (Fig. 9) of the Bristol Psalter, Michal lowers David over the wall just as Saul enters with an armed guard to assassinate him. At the left David again appears as he runs to safety. Dufrenne pointed to the parallel illustrations of Psalm 58 in the Chludov and Pantokrator Psalters to demonstrate that the Bristol Painter could not have taken his scene from the Pantokrator Psalter (Fig. 11), since in this case the Bristol miniature finds a better parallel in the Chludov Psalter (Figs. 9, 10).³⁸ If the Bristol Painter had been working with the Pantokrator Psalter as his model, he would not have known details that could only be found in the Chludov Psalter. The Bristol Painter therefore must have used the same source as the one known to the ninth-century illuminators of the Pantokrator and Chludov Psalters. He and the illuminator of the Pantokrator Psalter were more faithful to the model, hence the greater agreement between their works. Occasionally, though, the illuminator of the Chludov Psalter represented a scene more accu-

tures. A thorough examination of the legends in the early psalters, ideally carried out with ultraviolet light, remains a desideratum.

³⁶ Dufrenne, "Psautier de Bristol," notes 21 and 22, lists the parallel scenes and some of the important details the two psalters have in common against the Chludov.

³⁷ Useful contrasts appear in the illustrations of Psalm 104 (the plagues, Paris. gr. 20, fol. 14, and Bristol fols. 175v, 176) and Psalm 105 (the Israelites taken captive, Paris. gr. 20, fol. 18, Bristol Psalter, fol. 180).

³⁸ Dufrenne, "Psautier de Bristol," 165. The passage is missing from the Paris Fragment.

rately than the painter of the Pantokrator, and then the pattern of agreement momentarily shifts. The unspoken assumption behind the argument is that the eleventh-century illuminator did not have access to both the Chludov and Pantokrator Psalters, or that, if he did, he would not have arbitrarily chosen to copy a miniature from one and then another. This is reasonably supposed, for if the illuminator had been using both some pattern would be discernable on careful examination. As framed, the argument is impeccable. The question is, how much evidence can be gathered in its support? In the case of David's flight, the choice of evidence was unfortunate because folio 72 has been trimmed at the margin and the later hand that numbered the scenes marked this one as a fragment (Figs. g, 11).³⁹ Since it is more than merely possible that many of the leaves trimmed or excised contained miniatures, one cannot assume that the scene of David's narrow escape was never in the manuscript. What other than Saul's approach would David be turning to see over his shoulder? The example must be rejected as unable to sustain the conclusion drawn.

Using the faulty count of lacunae and mutilated leaves, one was compelled to assume that in many instances the only parallel for a Bristol miniature occurred in the Chludov Psalter. Once the full extent of the losses has been taken into account the balance shifts dramatically: when no parallel for a Bristol miniature occurs in the Pantokrator Psalter it usually turns out that the ninth-century leaf is either mutilated or missing entirely. When the Bristol Psalter is held next to the Pantokrator and their miniatures compared, the vast majority of scenes in the eleventh-century psalter either parallel ones in Pantokrator or cannot be checked because the relevant Pantokrator leaf is missing or mutilated.⁴⁰ What remains are three miniatures for which no parallel appears in the Pantokrator Psalter. Of the three, two come directly before losses, the Ascension to Psalm 46, and the asp at Psalm 57. I will take these in order.

The Ascension appears in the Bristol Psalter on folio 77, which contains Ps. 46:5–10 (final psalm verse). The Ascension also appears in the Chludov Psalter on the leaf with Ps. 46:5b–47:5; the signs relate the miniature to verse 6 ("God is gone up with a shout . . ."). No miniature stands next to these verses in the Pantokrator Psalter. Yet the leaf just before the one that contains verse 6 (fol. 57, 46:3b–10a) is missing, as the gap of about ten verses signifies. I contend that it is sufficiently possible for the Ascension to have appeared within the lost margin to eliminate the subject as evidence for the dependence of the Bristol Psalter on a manuscript other than the Pantokrator. Two factors speak in favor of flexibility when using the evidence. First, the known text of the Pantokrator is that written after the miniatures were painted and not the original text; some variation in exact content is likely, as demonstrated by the second scribe's often having to compress or stretch text toward the end of many psalms (cf. Fig. 5). Second, the precise relationship of text to image is not always as determined as we might wish. Eleventh-

³⁹The loss is visible in Huber's reproduction (*Athos*, fig. 40).

⁴⁰For the following Bristol Psalter leaves with miniatures a comparably illustrated page exists in the Pantokrator manuscript: [7v, 8, 8v, 9, 9v, 10, 11, 11v, 12, 15] 16, 18, 21v [24], 26v [27v, 31, 33, 35v (part survives), 37, 37v], 41 [44v], 52v, 53, 57v, 65v [68, 68v, 69], 74v [80v (part survives), 82v, 84], 86, 89, 90v [92, 93, 95], 98 [100v], 104 (Bristol, Ps. 67:2; Pantokrator 67:7), 105v, 106v [110], 115 [115v], 120, 124v, 125v, 127, 128, 129v, 130, 130v, 132v, 137v, 139, 145 [147, 147v], 154, 165v [174v (part survives), 175, 175v], 176, 176v [178, 178v], 179v [180, 180v, 223], 231v. I include in the list, within brackets, the leaves that cannot be compared against the Pantokrator Psalter because of losses.

century artists like the Studite monk Theodore, or the illuminators of the Barberini and Bristol Psalters, were scrupulous in maintaining exact, unambiguous linkages; their use of signs and connecting lines proves this. Earlier illuminators seem less concerned with fixing the relationships. The Pantokrator and Paris Psalters lack any system to connect images to precise passages. The signs in the Chludov are in question; the interlinear set was certainly written after the original text had been washed.⁴¹ For these reasons it seems unwise to press the evidence of the Ascension too vigorously; it is possible that either the subject appeared at a slightly earlier point in the Pantokrator Psalter or the minuscule text departs from the uncial in exact position, and that the Ascension miniature fell prey to a pious collector of icons—perhaps the one who took the Crucifixion, Baptism, and Transfiguration.⁴²

The second case is that of the asp on folio 92 of the Bristol Psalter. Above a ground of sparse vegetation the illuminator painted a creature that resembles a lizard without hind legs; its inscription reads *aspis*. The image relates to a word in Ps. 57:5–6: “Their venom is like that of a serpent (*ophis*); as that of a deaf asp (*aspis*), and that stops her ears; which will not hear the voice of the charmers, nor heed the charm prepared skillfully by the wise.” On folio 56 of the Chludov Psalter, an exotically dressed man blows a horn into the face of one of two large snakes, collectively inscribed *ophis*. The coincidence of subject matter is noteworthy. Yet the two miniatures have nothing in common visually, and the illuminators appear to have been concerned with different words in the passage. The Pantokrator leaf that now contains Ps. 57:4–8a has no illustration, though the following one, folio 72, containing verses 8a–12, was mutilated, presumably to obtain David’s escape from Saul (Figs. g, 11). Any miniature on the recto would have been lost. It is also possible that the Bristol Painter added the asp on his own initiative. For this suggestion there is the evidence of his addition (fol. 36) of the lion’s head at Ps. 21:22: “Save me from the lion’s mouth. . . .” The Bristol Painter was, it is true, a strict editor, but knowing this does not blind us to his various additions: the personifications of Might and Braggadocio to David’s battle with Goliath (fol. 231v); the wellhead (fol. 65v) to denote the “pit of misery” and some vegetation (and perhaps earth now lost to the binder’s knife), inscribed the “miry clay,” to illustrate Ps. 39:3 (“And he brought me up out of a pit of misery, and from miry clay . . .”). From these examples the addition of the asp cannot be ruled out. When the two miniatures are judged from the perspective of the state of the Pantokrator, the loose congruence of minuscule to uncial, and the possibility of eleventh-century invention, too much doubt shrouds their status as possible reflections of an early source.

After the evidence has been sifted only one miniature remains to confound the view that the Bristol Psalter was modeled on the Pantokrator. On folio 38v of the Bristol Psalter there appears a simple door (Fig. 12) inscribed, at the left, “everlasting doors,” and, at the right, “about which it was said ‘you have broken the doors of bronze.’” Although the first phrase relates the image to the nearby text (Ps. 23:9: “Lift up your gates, ye princes; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors; and the king of glory shall come in”), the second phrase recalls a later passage, Ps. 106:16 (“For he broke to pieces the brazen gates, and crushed the iron bars”), as well as a line in Isaiah (Isa. 45:2). No miniature

⁴¹Corrigan (*Visual Polemics*, 143) is of the opinion that at least six of the marks in the margin are original.

⁴²The subjects that seem to have been taken from fols. 11, 88, 20, 124 (text figs. d, h, e, j).

illustrates Ps. 23:9 in the Pantokrator Psalter. But on folio 22 of the Chludov Psalter Christ ascends into heaven, represented as a blue circle enclosing two doors (Fig. 13). Next to heaven is an inscription, “Lift up the gates of heaven and hades,” which echoes the twenty-third psalm. The gates of heaven shown as a pair of doors are the only link; and, I wish to argue, they are insufficient to sustain the argument that some indirect relationship exists between the Bristol and Chludov Psalters. The first difficulty is that the two miniatures do not resemble one another. The Bristol Painter showed a doorway, whereas the illuminator of the Chludov Psalter represented a version of the Ascension that merely emphasized the gates of heaven. The inscription in the Bristol Psalter suggests that it was not the gate of heaven that the illuminator had in mind. As a source for the gateway, the illustration of Psalm 117 (“Open to me the gates of righteousness: I will go into them and give praise to the Lord. This is the gate of the Lord: the righteous shall enter by it”) seems better suited on compositional grounds. We know the miniature only from the Chludov Psalter (Fig. 14) because the miniature in the Pantokrator has been excised (fol. 169; fig. q). The second problem surrounding the parallel is that the importance of the verse might alone have led the illuminator to devise an illustration. In a discussion of Byzantine depictions of the gates of heaven and hell, S. Tsuji has collected a large number of references in the liturgy and writings of Christian authors read in the Middle Ages.⁴³ In many of these references, the twenty-third and one-hundred and seventeenth psalms form the foundation. The suggestion that Psalm 23 struck the Bristol Painter as too significant to leave unillustrated is hardly gratuitous; it can be supported by evidence taken from works outside the group under discussion. In response to the liturgical significance of Psalm 23, illuminators represented gates of heaven in both the early twelfth-century Vat. gr. 1927 and in the Sinai Psalter of ca. 1075.⁴⁴ The case that could be based on the treatment of Psalm 23 cannot, therefore, be regarded as sufficiently strong to overturn the weight of contrary evidence. The Bristol Painter apparently based his work on the Pantokrator Psalter.

Certain details in the Bristol Psalter have been said to be anachronistic survivals from a period of illustration antedating the ninth century. One specific case is the Bristol illustration of Ps. 9:18 (“Let sinners be driven away into Hades, even all the nations that forget God”).⁴⁵ In the Chludov Psalter the verse was illustrated by a corpulent Hades greedily gathering a group of souls as if preparing to consume them (fol. 8v). In the Pantokrator Psalter (Fig. 15) the naked souls advance on a Hades who keeps his hands behind his back. The miniature in the Bristol Psalter (Fig. 16), as is often the case, relates with immediacy to that in the Pantokrator Psalter; the group of souls has been similarly constituted, and in both cases it includes the foremost figure covering his mouth in silent terror. In Bristol, though, Hades appears in a cave, a locale taken to reflect a prior level in the development of the theme on the basis of two parallels. One is the Stuttgart Psalter,

⁴³ Sahoko Tsuji, “Destruction des portes de l’Enfer et ouverture des portes du Paradis: à propos des illustrations du Psaume 23, 7–10 et du Psaume 117, 19–20,” *CahArch* 31 (1983), 5–33. See also R. Taft, *The Great Entrance: A History of the Transfer of Gifts and Other Pre-anaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, OCA, 200 (Rome, 1975), 108–18.

⁴⁴ Tsuji, “Destruction des portes,” figs. 12, 10, for Vat. gr. 1927, fol. 38 (E. DeWald, *The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint, III, Psalms and Odes, 1, Vaticanus Graecus 1927* [Princeton, 1941], pl. xii); Sinai. gr. 48, fol. 25v (K. Weitzmann and G. Galavaris, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Illuminated Greek Manuscripts, I, From the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* [Princeton, 1990], fig. 238).

⁴⁵ Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 12–13. I choose the strongest and most completely argued example.

a Latin manuscript made in the early ninth century;⁴⁶ in it two demons lead a man by a rope to Hell, conceived of as a furnace crammed with the tormented. Although related by subject matter, the Stuttgart miniature was cast in a composition so different from those of the Greek manuscripts that awarding precedence on its testimony seems little more than arbitrary; not only are the furnace and cave irreconcilably different locations, but also the figure groups and poses have little in common. The second parallel suggested occurs in an illustrated version of the notes to the mythological allusions made by Gregory of Nazianzen in his sermons. In an eleventh-century version in Paris (Coisl 239), Pluto appears dragging Persephone to Hades.⁴⁷ On examination, this comparison also fails to convince. Among the obstacles is the absence of meaningful connections between the images. For instance, in the image of Pluto and Persephone, the god of the underworld does not appear in a cave but in a pit or opening in the earth; the Byzantines made a distinction between caves and pits, as the Psalters, including the Bristol Psalter, indicate.⁴⁸ A simple explanation exists for why the versions of this scene differ in the Psalters, and it is one that has the eleventh-century illuminator altering a composition to bring it more into line with contemporary expectations, not perpetuating an anachronism. The Bristol Painter had before him the image in the Pantokrator Psalter. He took over the souls without change, for they represented an expressive group that captured the sense of the text as he understood it. The gigantic figure, though, failed to represent what was compositionally important in rendering the subject. For early artists, like the illuminators of the Pantokrator and Chludov Psalters, the place where the damned went was either unimportant or beyond specification;⁴⁹ when apparently pressed to depict a locale, the illuminator of the Paris Fragment (fol. 19v) came up with a building! The operative element in the early manuscripts was Hades, who stands in cruel contrast to Abraham cradling the souls of the blessed in his lap. For the illuminator of the Bristol Psalter what was important was that the damned went into a cave in the earth, and to create the appropriate setting he resorted to a stock image from his repertory. Perhaps his creative revision was shaped by one of the several caves used in the Pantokrator Psalter to denote Christ's tomb or the place where David went to hide.⁵⁰ To verify the change away from the depiction of Hades as a figure and toward a cave one can easily turn to images of the Anastasis, which by the eleventh century generally occur over a cave.⁵¹ Even outside the Anastasis, subjects that required showing a figure in Hell centered upon a cave in a mountain.⁵² The Bristol Painter simply translated a scene into the

⁴⁶ Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Bibl. fol. 23, fol. 10v: E. DeWald, *The Stuttgart Psalter* (Princeton, 1932); and the facsimile edition with commentary by B. Bischoff et al., *Der Stuttgarter Bilderpsalter: Bibl. Fol. 23 Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart* (Stuttgart, 1968).

⁴⁷ Paris. Coisl. gr. 239, fol. 121v: K. Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art* (Princeton, 1951), fig. 51.

⁴⁸ Ps. 105:16–18: Paris. gr. 20, fol. 16v; Chludov, fol. 108v; Bristol, fol. 15; see Joseph thrown into the pit in the contemporary Paris Gregory, gr. 510, fol. 69v (H. Omont, *Miniatures*, pl. xxvi).

⁴⁹ To the ninth-century illuminators, Hades was a figure over whom Christ was triumphant, and not generally a place. Ps. 67:2 (Chludov, fol. 63), Ps. 67:7 (Chludov, fol. 63v; Pantokrator, fol. 83), Ps. 81:8 (Chludov, fol. 82v), Ps. 106:13–14 (Paris Fragment, fol. 19v). See also Hades at Ps. 102:15–17 (Chludov, fol. 102v).

⁵⁰ Ps. 56:T (Pantokrator, fol. 70), Ps. 87:8 (Pantokrator, fol. 122), Ps. 141:T (Pantokrator, fol. 195v).

⁵¹ A. Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image* (Princeton, 1986), 207–9.

⁵² See the representations in Mt. Athos, Dionysiou, cod. 65, fol. 12 (A. Cutler, *The Aristocratic Psalters in Byzantium*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers archéologiques 13 [Paris, 1984], fig. 363); and Vat. gr. 752, fols. 44v,

contemporary idiom. Confirming this is his adaptation of the Anastasis at Ps. 67:2 (fol. 104).⁵³ There are, I believe, no examples in which the Bristol Psalter preserves a version of a subject demonstrably more archaic than what is found in the Pantokrator or Chludov Psalters.

Neither direct nor indirect testimony stands in the way of the conclusion dictated by the close relationship between the Bristol and Pantokrator Psalters: the Bristol Painter used the Pantokrator manuscript as his source. Those who seek to uphold a more complicated relationship argue, in essence, that the pieces of parchment cut from the Pantokrator Psalter contained no images. As the number of missing or mutilated pages accumulates, the argument becomes increasingly untenable. In complete isolation, the losses might at first appear to be random, for they conform to neither entire gatherings missing nor margins sequentially trimmed to obtain binding reinforcements. But once the losses have been compared against the Chludov and Bristol Psalters they no longer appear to be random; most were likely to have been illuminated. The pattern that emerges is one argument supporting the conclusion that respects chronological order. A second argument rests on the many agreements in minor details of pose, gesture, and composition found when the Bristol and Pantokrator Psalter are compared. The agreements further cement the relationship between the two Psalters by making it unlikely that even one intermediary stands between the Bristol Painter and the Pantokrator Psalter. The freedom with which all illuminators seem to have handled the individual images and the entire cycles gives us no warrant to assume that duplicates were ever made or that many generations could intervene before the links became hopelessly obscure.

The Bristol Painter's many changes from his source, the Pantokrator Psalter, reveal his particular interests, some of which may reflect broader tastes of the eleventh century. The character of the cycle has previously been taken as reflecting an era before the second half of the ninth century, when the first preserved Psalter with illustration was made. But the argument is tautologous: the Bristol is offered as proof of the existence of the kind of book we would hypothesize as typical of the Early Christian period. The only evidence is what, in fact, is absent from the Bristol Psalter: the imagery related to Iconoclasm and the theological issues it brought into focus. The Bristol cycle is said to reflect a time when such matters were of no moment. Yet this characterization applies as well to the eleventh century as it does to the fifth, sixth, seventh, or whichever earlier century one chooses.⁵⁴ The polemical imagery of ninth-century Orthodoxy had lost its edge for many eleventh-century patrons and illuminators. With the patron's support, the Bristol Painter might have omitted the images; this argument at least has the support of evidence available from the time when the manuscript was made and used. There is, in addition, something slightly disingenuous about a claim based on the near absence of polemical miniatures from the Bristol cycle, for such scenes were not present to the same extent in

294 (E. DeWald, *The Illustrations of the Manuscripts of the Septuagint*, III, *Psals and Odes*, 2, *Vaticanus Graecus 752* [Princeton, 1942], pls. xix, xli).

⁵³Dufrenne, "Psautier de Bristol," 165, describes the Bristol Anastasis as "much more traditional than that of the Pantokrator," by which she presumably means more like those of later medieval art than the earlier examples.

⁵⁴Dufrenne, "Psautier de Bristol," 163. For the relationship of the eleventh-century Psalters to Iconoclasm see J. Anderson, "The Date and Purpose of the Barberini Psalter," *CahArch* 31 (1983), 56.

all the ninth-century manuscripts. The Paris Psalter is once again difficult to characterize, but the Pantokrator, despite its losses, can be said to have had a blunter edge than the Chludov. The subjects that represented the most direct attack on the iconoclasts were actually never part of the Pantokrator cycle; they include the satanic John the Grammarian, the patriarchs Nikephoros and John the Grammarian, the tainted ordinations of iconoclast priests, and possibly the iconoclasts' whitewashing an icon⁵⁵ (Chludov, fols. 35v, 51v, 67v, 67). The scene of the tongue cut from the mouth of the blasphemer and the martyr as a contemporary monk seem not to have been part of the Pantokrator cycle either (Chludov, fols. 10v, 22v).⁵⁶ The difference between the Bristol and Chludov Psalters in anti-iconoclastic imagery cannot, therefore, offer a direct insight into stages of illustration that reflect a sequence unfolding over time.

Beyond the presence or absence of scenes timely for the ninth-century Byzantine is another quality attributed to the Bristol cycle. The cycle has been characterized as "literal."⁵⁷ What this seems to mean is that some of the illustration consists of word pictures. The word pictures range from simple cases involving little ambiguity (vine, river, gateway, pit) to others in which a precise meaning has been imposed on the text by a picture: "tomb" interpreted as a sarcophagus (fol. 12), the "table" of the twenty-third psalm as a Christian altar (fol. 37v), and so on. In fact, much of the so-called literal imagery consists of portraits (David, holy martyrs) and narrative compositions (Nathan rebukes David, Saul and the Ziphaites). There are also the typological miniatures, in which New Testament parallels were interjected where the Old Testament language was taken to be prophesy. In order to support her contention that these miniatures also belong to, if not a group of literal interpretations, then at least to a stage of typology that might be characterized as early or primitive, Dufrenne claims that of the New Testament subjects almost all represent instances in which the psalm was quoted in the New Testament.⁵⁸ Hardly any of the interpretations need depend on sermons, commentaries, or exegetical essays—the material to which so much of the imagery added in the ninth century can be traced. This argument, as K. Corrigan has pointed out, is somewhat misleading.⁵⁹

The idea of a literally illustrated Psalter collects several observations arising from the imagery of the Bristol Psalter and shapes them into an ideal. The problem is to justify this ideal in terms of historical realities. From nearly the beginning of our era, no primitive understanding of the psalms and their use existed. There was not some period during which a literal reading of the text gave way to metaphorical, allegorical, and typological readings. From the Qumran community near the Dead Sea come three fragments of psalm commentaries that interpret the text eschatologically, and as applying specifically to the community.⁶⁰ St. Paul read the psalms allegorically (Gal. 4:21–31, using the word

⁵⁵This image used in juxtaposition with the Crucifixion (Ps. 68:22) may be lost.

⁵⁶It might be worth noting that the martyred monk appears in the ninth-century Psalter with original *kathismata* markings, the apparatus often associated with monastic use of the psalms.

⁵⁷Dufrenne, "Psautier de Bristol," 160–63.

⁵⁸Ibid., 162.

⁵⁹Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 22 note 41.

⁶⁰Scrolls 1QpPs (D. Barthélémy and J. Milik, *Qumran Cave I*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan 1 [Oxford, 1955], 81–82, pl. xv), 4QpPs^a and 4QpPs^b (J. Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4*, I, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan 5 [Oxford, 1968], 42–50, 79–80, pls. XIV–XVII, XVIII); see also M. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (Cambridge, 1987), 207–15, 247–55.

“allegory”) and the impetus for the illustration on folio 105 of the Pantokrator Psalter and folio 76v of the Chludov (Figs. 6, 7) was Christ’s exegesis—typological and self-referential—of the miracle of the quail and manna as recorded in John 6. From the start of our era, the Psalter was explained to an audience often eager for the most creative sorts of interpretation. Early authors were not tentative, to the chagrin of some, like Theodore of Mopsuestia, who preferred a more straightforward approach to Bible study.⁶¹ Various schools of interpretation developed and sometimes vied with one another, but the early history cannot be characterized as one that passed through convenient phases.⁶² What we have of early illumination also fails to corroborate the argument that there once existed a time of literal imagery and simple interpretations. The images appearing on the walls of buildings around the sixth century and being adapted to book illuminations in works like the Sinope and Rossano Gospels combined typologies drawn from the liturgy with those sanctioned through New Testament use.⁶³ In these two manuscripts that have survived, the linkages are already much less ordered than those in the Bristol Psalter.

My two concluding points relate to the eleventh-century Bristol Psalter.⁶⁴ First, how it relates to other books of its time. It is noteworthy that the Bristol Painter omitted almost all of the typological illustrations that were not actually grounded in a New Testament citation. The illuminator also deleted most of the imagery associated with anti-iconoclast polemics. In these two regards his editing recalls the work of a near contemporary, Theodore, illuminator of the Theodore Psalter.⁶⁵ Theodore left out some typologies, and the ninth-century polemics did not suit his purpose either. Furthermore, what has been seen as a literal quality in the Bristol miniatures recalls contemporary taste. Works like the heavily illustrated Vatican Book of Kings, the Gospels in Paris (gr. 74), and Madrid Skylitzes all attest to an interest in Old Testament, New Testament, and secular history that sets eleventh-century taste apart from that of earlier periods in Byzantine history.⁶⁶ A kind of literal quality surrounds the illustration of these works, all made in the roughly fifty-year period from 1025 to 1075. The Bristol Psalter adds its testimony concerning what subjects book illumination was most suited to offer; they might be didactic or plainly historical, but they were not openly tendentious or argumentative. The Bristol Psalter’s second contribution derives from its relationship to the Pantokrator Psalter. Our knowledge of the origin of the ninth-century Psalters is based on inference from

⁶¹ See the *Commentary on Galatians*, 2:24: PG 66, col. 908c.

⁶² Mariès, “Le psautier,” 268–71, might have offered a more defensible argument when he suggested that the exegetical Psalters could be studied in terms of the Early Christian schools of interpretation; from this standpoint, he argued, the Psalters are closest in tenor to the works of the school of Antioch. Ultimately, though, the invention of the Psalter cycle at the same time and in the same place as any early commentary must be rejected as unlikely.

⁶³ Rossano, Museo Diocesano: G. Cavallo, J. Gribomont, and W. Loerke, *Codex purpureus Rossanensis* (Rome and Graz [1987]), 109–67; Paris, suppl. gr. 1286: Omont, *Miniatures*, 1–4; A. Grabar, *Les peintures de l’évangélique de Sinope* (Paris, 1948).

⁶⁴ No case for date has been closely argued; Dufrenne’s attribution to around 1000 (*Psautiers grecs*, 50–51) strikes me as rather too early.

⁶⁵ J. Anderson, “On the Nature of the Theodore Psalter,” *ArtB* 70 (1988), 554.

⁶⁶ Vat. gr. 333: J. Lassus, *L’illustration byzantine du Livre des Rois: Vaticanus Graecus 333*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers archéologiques 9 (Paris, 1973); Paris, gr. 74: H. Omont, *Evangiles avec peintures byzantines du XI^e siècle* (Paris, n.d.); and Matr. vitr. 26–2: A. Grabar and M. Manoussacas, *L’illustration du manuscrit de Skylitzés de la Bibliothèque nationale de Madrid* (Venice, 1979).

a body of evidence as disparate as it is incomplete. The links among the known manuscripts are one source of historical information. For the history of the first Psalters the links reach to the Latin West, and the Stuttgart Psalter, considered to reflect a stage of illustration prior to that of the ninth-century Byzantine manuscripts. In the handful of scenes collected by F. Mütherich,⁶⁷ the Stuttgart Psalter displays a remarkable coincidence with illustrations found in the Byzantine manuscripts. But if one tries to coordinate the Bristol and Stuttgart Psalters as being very like what was known to the ninth-century Byzantine illuminators of the Chludov and Pantokrator manuscripts, difficulties arise that are virtually insurmountable. Thus, the illustration of Psalm 77 common to Bristol, Pantokrator, and Chludov (Figs. 6–8) is unknown to Stuttgart. The Chludov and Stuttgart Psalters illustrate Ps. 140:10 with sinners caught in a net; the subject appears in neither the Bristol nor the Pantokrator manuscript.⁶⁸ There are also scenes like Peter triumphant over Simon Magus that appear in both the Pantokrator and Chludov Psalters, but in neither Stuttgart nor Bristol.⁶⁹ In fact, the result of having both manuscripts reflect the source used by the Pantokrator and Chludov painters was a set of relationships too convoluted to permit rational explanation. Once the Bristol has been accepted as an adaptation directly made from the Pantokrator Psalter, it is no longer relevant to the matter of sources. The question of the parallels between the earliest preserved Greek Psalters and the Stuttgart can now be explored without irrelevant encumbrance.

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⁶⁷ Mütherich, in Bischoff et al., *Bilderpsalter*, 163–64, discusses and cites illustrations to Psalms 6, 8, 10, 21, 41, 57, 59; see also Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 8–26, especially 8–10.

⁶⁸ Ps. 140:10: Stuttgart fol. 156; Chludov fol. 140.

⁶⁹ Ps. 51:9: Pantokrator, fol. 64; Chludov, fol. 51v.